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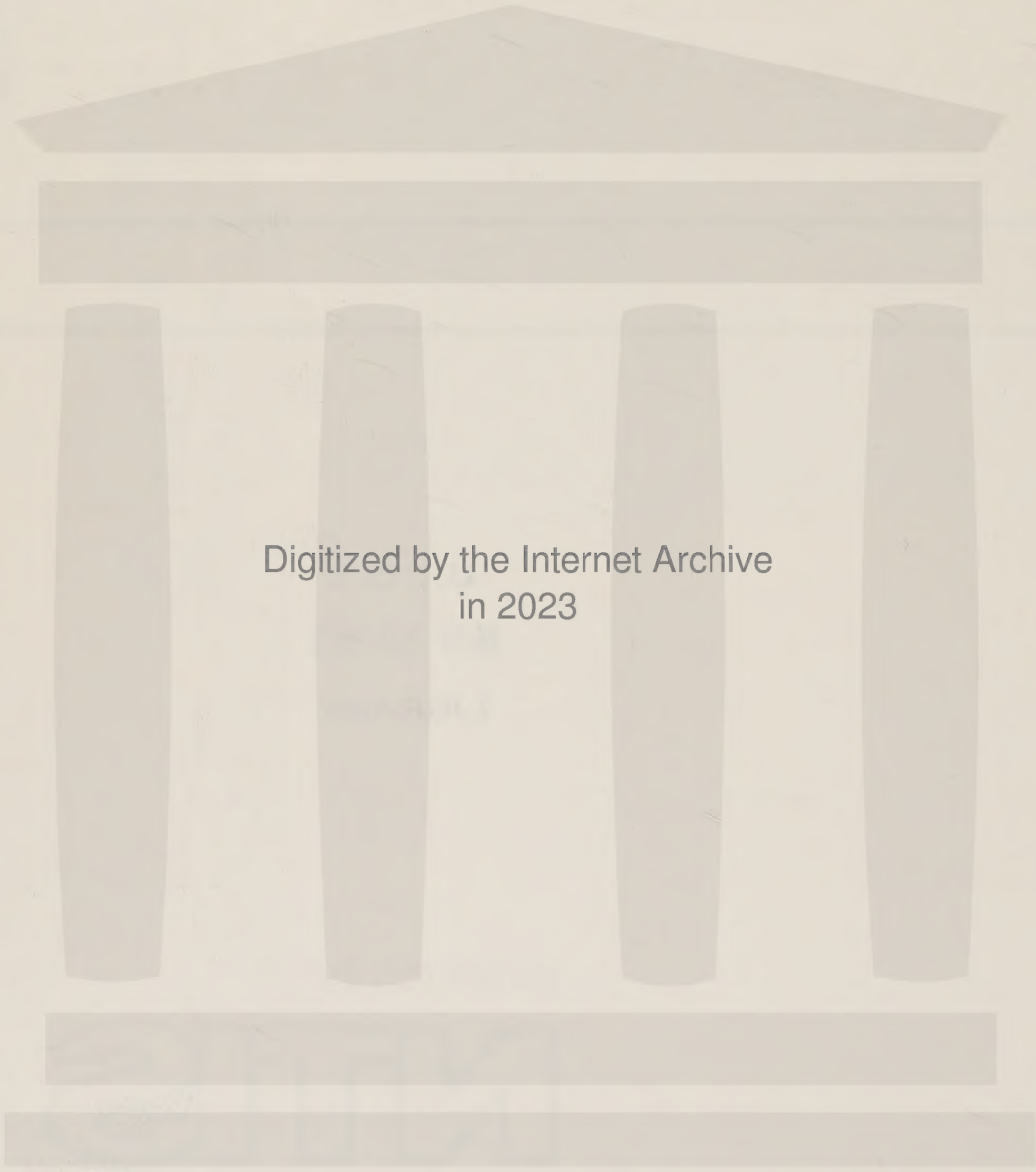

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

(Li-shih Yen-chiu /Historical Research/)

Dissecting the Reactionary Nature of Lin Piao's "Six Tactical Principles" - by Shen Ssu 1

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/)

Criticize the Bourgeois Style of Life - by Fang Hai 10

The Great Road, the Radiant Truth - by Yung Ch'ang 14

The Truth About International Pickpockets - by Ch'i Shih-i 22

Shen K'uo and His "Dream Brook Random Notes" -
by Han T'ien-yu and Wang Kuo-jung 28

"Wind and Thunder Bring New Life to the Empire" -
Foreword to a reprint of Complete Works of
Kung Tzu-chen - by Ch'en Hsü-lu 35

Several Opinions About "On the Battle of Feishui" 44

TABLE OF CONTENTS:

HUAXUE TONGBAO /Hua-hsüeh T'ung-pao,
Chemistry Bulletin/, No. 1, 1975 56

* * *

Unless otherwise indicated, these materials are full translations of articles appearing in People's Republic of China periodicals.

Dissecting the Reactionary Nature of Lin Piao's "Six Tactical Principles"

by

Shen Ssu (沈思)

(Li-shih Yen-chiu /Historical Research/, No. 1, February 20, 1975)

Lin Piao -- the bourgeois careerist, conspirator, counter-revolutionary double-dealer, renegade and traitor -- tossed out the so-called "six tactical principles" during the war to liberate the Northeast. These principles were described by him and his gang as part of Marxist "war strategy" and "military science," as "guiding principles for war operations." What are these "six tactical principles"? If we dissect them by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought, it is not difficult to see that they are stuff characteristic of military conservatism and a hodgepodge of idealism and mechanicalism, and that serving the Right opportunist line, they are a reaction to the Marxist strategic and tactical principles.

Product of Passive Avoidance of War

To analyze the political situation and the balance of power between various classes by the Marxist-Leninist method provides the basis on which the proletariat formulates a correct line, principles and policies. After the victory of the War of Resistance Against Japan, China was faced with the serious struggle between two kinds of destiny and two kinds of future, and the focal point of the struggle was "whether to set up a new democratic state of the masses of the people led by the proletariat or to set up a semi-colonial and semi-feudal state under the dictatorship of big landlords and the big bourgeoisie?" On this basic issue, two lines antagonistic to each other existed within the Party. Applying the viewpoint of dialectical materialism and historical materialism, Chairman Mao made a scientific analysis of the situation after the victory of the Anti-Japan War and pointed out that behind the smokescreen of peace talks the US and Chiang reactionaries would start a counter-revolutionary civil war. He warned that the whole Party must remain constantly sober and should not cherish any illusions about the enemy, and put forward the correct policy "wage tit for tat and fight for every inch of territory." Chairman Mao also made the brilliant assertion that "we will surely win and Chiang will surely lose" after making a further analysis of our favorable conditions and the enemy's unfavorable conditions. He called on the whole Party to completely crush the attacks of Chiang Kai-shek and establish a new China with a war of self-reliance. This was the only correct political line set for our Party. Lin Piao, however, taking the Right opportunist stand, over-estimated the strength of the enemy and under-estimated that of the people. He did not believe that led by our Party the people had the strength to defeat Chiang Kai-shek and liberate the whole of China. He went all out to follow Liu Shao-ch'i's capitulationist line for "a new

stage of peace and democracy." Dreaming of peace, he clamored for "cooperation with the Kuomintang in the Northeast," saying "non-armed struggle" and "parliamentary struggle" "are the basic characteristics of the present situation in the Northeast." This was an attempt to hand the fruit of victory of the War of Resistance Against Japan to Chiang Kai-shek in order to preserve the semi-colonial and semi-feudal old China under the dictatorship of the big landlord and big bourgeois classes.

In order to defeat Chiang Kai-shek completely and build a new China, Chairman Mao, considering the conditions of the Northeast at the time, promptly issued the directive "Build Stable Base Areas in the Northeast" and devised for our army a correct military line and strategic and tactical principles, particularly the "ten major principles of operations" based on concentration of superior forces and battles of annihilation. To meet the needs of his capitulationist line, Lin Piao militarily pushed Right conservatism. Fearing the enemy as a tiger, he called for passive defense and arbitrarily placed the main force units of our army in the Northeast along the communications trunk lines to fight a war of attrition with the enemy. He opposed the building of base areas and refrained from occupying the "two flanks" and mobilizing the masses. He put forward a so-called "wait, be patient, and be harsh" policy. "Wait and be patient" means not to fight actively but to oppose the war of annihilation, and "be harsh" means fighting reckless battles with the enemy on an attrition basis. It was against such a backdrop that with passive avoidance of war as the point of departure and battles of routing the enemy as the guiding thought, the "six tactical principles" were put forward.

Around November and December 1945, two armies of the Kuomintang, consisting of a total of 40,000 men, launched an offensive against the Northeast. These troops were scattered in Shanhaikuan, Chinchou, I-hsien and other places. In this region at that time, our main force units consisted of ten brigades with more than 70,000 men; moreover, they had been resting and consolidating for some time, ready for engagement with the tired-out enemy. As Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee had clearly directed, the enemy in the Northeast was driving deep with his troops in areas where he was not familiar with the geography and the people and, divorced from the masses, had many weaknesses. Our army should concentrate its forces to wipe out part of the enemy forces and crush the enemy's offensive. However, Lin Piao exaggerated the strength of the enemy, believing that the enemy troops in the Northeast "have been trained and equipped by the United States and are superior in terms of quality." He slanderously described our army as "rather weak in fighting capability" and "lacking in support of the masses." In his view it was necessary to "avoid engaging the enemy's main forces." He rejected Chairman Mao's orders and gave up the favorable opportunities to annihilate the enemy. Calling for defense at every turn, he divided up the troops for guarding important places. After fighting a few small battles of an interceptive nature, he cooked up the "tactic of one point and two directions." Clearly, this "tactic" resulted from his fear of the enemy and difficulties and his not daring to wipe out the enemy actively.

Around April and May 1946, having failed in passive defense in the battle to protect Ssup'ing, Lin Piao was given to panic and practiced flightism. He went to Harbin from Ssup'ing and even then wanted to abandon Harbin. It was Chairman Mao's stern criticism that halted his retreat. In July the same year Chairman Mao issued to the whole Party the directive "Smash Chiang Kai-shek's Offensive by a War of Self-Defense." But Lin Piao was content with staying in northern Manchuria and passively avoided fighting. He was afraid of "over-stimulating the enemy" and "attracting too many Kuomintang troops outside of Shanhaikuan" for him to "deal with." So, he took "not fighting reckless battles" as a "general policy of operations" in order to restrain the fighting enthusiasm of his troops. Swayed by this thinking, he set forth the tactic of "three methods of fighting for three kinds of situations" based on "not fighting reckless battles." The pretext of "not fighting reckless battles" was actually to passively avoid fighting.

The main cause of the failure of the battle to storm Ssup'ing under Lin Piao's command in June 1947 was his pushing the "tactic of one point and two directions." To cover up the errors of his command, he distorted objective facts, saying groundlessly that the battle failed because the troops had not been well prepared and "it was fought prematurely." With this as the excuse, he tossed out the "tactic of four-quick and one-slow" with "slow" as the central idea. The word "slow" was a concentrated reflection of his Right-deviating idea of fearing to fight, his failure to grasp the opportune moments to fight and his failure to take the whole situation into account. Around the time the "tactic of four-quick and one-slow" was tossed out the War of Liberation was shifting from strategic defense into strategic counter-offensive. Chairman Mao instructed our army to employ its main force units to fight on the exterior lines and to take the war to the Kuomintang areas to wipe out the enemy in large numbers. Moreover, he pointed out that the key to victory was "to be good at grasping the opportune moments to fight, being brave and resolute, winning more battles." However, Lin Piao, using "four-quick and one-slow" as the shield, resisted Chairman Mao's orders. He let his troops rest and consolidate instead of using them to fight, and he fought no battle at all from July to September that year. Later, Chairman Mao time and again told Lin Piao: You should shift the direction of the main attack to the Peiping-Liaoning and Peiping-Suiyuan lines and lock up the Chiang troops in the Northeast so as to wipe them out one by one. Lin Piao stubbornly defied these orders and not only delayed in going south to fight along the Peiping-Liaoning line but said rudely: "No matter how people above urge us," "we at the lower level must master the principle of four-quick and one-slow." He even went so far as to say: "These 'urgent orders' are most disgusting!" This fully exposed his ugly features in undermining the centralized command of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee and in insisting on Right conservatism to passively avoid the war.

Trash That Opposes Battles of Annihilation

Battles of annihilation are the most effective means of achieving the principle of "preserving oneself and destroying the enemy," the key to changing the situation as between the enemy and ourselves and winning the war. The core of a series of strategic and tactical principles set by Chairman Mao for our army is the concentration of superior forces to wipe out the enemy force one by one. This is a major development by Chairman Mao of Marxist-Leninist military science, a special and new method of fighting adopted by our army, a magic wand for vanquishing the enemy. The "six tactical principles" with "one point and two directions" as the core run counter to the basic aim of war and are completely antithetical to Chairman Mao's policy of fighting battles of annihilation.

"The secret of strategy lies in concentration of forces." Concentrating superior forces furnishes the material conditions and premise for a battle of annihilation. Without the concentration of forces there would be no battle of annihilation. Chairman Mao points out: "In every battle, concentrate an absolutely superior force (two, three, four and sometimes even five or six times the enemy's strength), encircle the enemy forces completely, strive to wipe them out thoroughly and do not let any escape from the net." "All principles concerning tactics, campaigns and strategy represent applications of this basic principle." Concentration of forces here means that in campaigns and battles we must gain an absolute overall superiority over the enemy in the balance of forces. However, Lin Piao's "tactic of one point and two directions" only considers the balance of forces of one's own "point" and "area," calling for putting "seven-ninths or even eight-ninths" of the forces in the "point" and "two-ninths or even one-ninth" in the "area." In that case, did concentration on the point mean real concentration? Not at all. As far as the point was concentrated, he advocated dispositions in the form of "a sharp head and a long tail," with two divisions making the surprise attack and "merely two or three platoons entering fighting." This was a kind of "adding fuel" tactic -- increasing reinforcements gradually and attacking by turns. It was concentration in name but dispersal in fact. If we used this method of fighting, we could at best rout the enemy and drive him away. Lin Piao even advocated the need to disperse the troops in campaigns and battles, saying nonsensically: "Concentration of a superior force is restricted not only by the balance of forces but also by the technical and organizational levels." According to his logic, we must not concentrate our forces under the situation where the enemy was strong and we were weak. This was pure nonsense. In many wars our army went to the battlefield as a weaker side, and the fact that it was able to change the situation where the enemy was strong and we were weak, defeated the strong enemy and won world-shaking victories was because "basically it relied on the concentration of forces." In the Hsink'ai-ling battle in the Northeast theater toward the end of October 1946, our units in southern Manchuria, acting resolutely in accordance with Chairman Mao's directive on concentrating a superior force to fight a battle

of annihilation, pitted eight regiments against the enemy's three regiments and wiped out the enemy forces one by one. It was a battle of annihilation beautifully fought. The practice proved that we could guarantee victories in campaigns and battles only if we concentrated an absolutely superior force for each part, for each campaign and battle. With small victories accumulated into big victories and with the passage of time we would have overall superiority and finally vanquish the enemy basically. These are irrefutable historical facts, a powerful criticism of Lin Piao's fallacies.

Chairman Mao points out: "A war of annihilation is synonymous with concentration of superior forces and the adoption of the tactics of encirclement in a round-about way. Without the former there would be no latter." The principle of disposition for a war of annihilation is the concentration of superior forces and complete encirclement of the enemy, thereby deceiving the enemy, making him incapable of finding out our army's intention and direction of the main attack, and causing him to make mistakes in command. In this way, it is possible to cause the enemy to divide his forces and impossible for him to coordinate his forces, so that we may make a breakthrough in the direction of our main attack, cut up his forces and wipe them out one by one. Complete encirclement will also shake the morale of the enemy forces, making them despondent and raising our army's fighting spirit to kill the enemy bravely. In short, complete encirclement will force the enemy into a situation that his forces have to fight alone in a passive and defensive position, unable to defend themselves or to escape. But Lin Piao's "tactic of one point and two directions" was opposed to complete encirclement, and he babbled: "If we attack simultaneously from three, four or even more directions, we will be compelled to divide up our forces, spread them evenly and lack a central point. There will be the danger of our forces being wiped out by the enemy one by one;" complete encirclement would "force the enemy to fight like a cornered beast." If we employed our forces in line with Lin Piao's "tactic of one point and two directions," we could only attack one point and neglect the three sides, and this in fact was to put our forces in one side. This would not only make it impossible to attack to the rear of the enemy but also make it possible for him to have the time to adjust his dispositions and concentrate his forces to resist the attack at one point. In that case, the enemy could defend or flee as he wanted; this was tantamount to giving the enemy the initiative on the battlefield. In the battle to storm Ssup'ing in June 1947, although our army had more than 20 divisions in the vicinity of Ssup'ing, yet Lin Piao, carrying out his disposition according to his "tactic of one point and two directions," used only seven divisions to attack the army. Since our forces did not double the forces of the enemy and since we launched the surprise attack from only one side, we failed to take the city after half a month of fighting. From the above, it is not difficult to see that by adopting the "tactic of one point and two directions," we could neither annihilate the enemy forces completely nor win a quick victory. This was a typical example of tactics for fighting a battle aimed at only routing the enemy.

During the war to liberate the Northeast, our army had fought many battles of annihilation in accordance with Chairman Mao's military thinking and strategic and tactical principles, and not in accordance with Lin Piao's "tactic of one point and two directions." However, Lin Piao asserted brazenly that his tactics were the "basic experiences of the fighting in the Northeast" and could "guarantee victory." Lin Piao and his gang also took the Hsiushuihotzu battle as an example and boasted: The victory of this battle was won because Lin Piao "personally surveyed the terrain" and "personally commanded the fighting at the front," and it was fought in accordance with the "tactic of one point and two directions." This was nothing but a reversal of facts. In February 1946, the enemy attacked the Hsiushuihotzu area with one regiment plus a battalion. Before the enemy had secured his foothold, the seven brigades and a division of our army concentrated a force three times the enemy's, used four regiments to attack the enemy's four battalions, and adopted a plan for complete encirclement with a central point. Waging a battle of quick decision, they annihilated more than 1,500 enemy troops in one night. This was completely a result of the adoption by the fighting units of Chairman Mao's operational concept of concentrating superior forces to fight a battle of annihilation. At that time Lin Piao's "tactic of one point and two directions" had been released for only about two months and the broad masses of commanders and fighters of our army had not yet understood what it meant. How can one say that the Hsiushuihotzu battle was fought in accordance with the "tactic of one point and two directions"? Throughout the battle, Lin Piao not only did not go to the front but also did not even go to the command post of the seven brigades and one division. How can one say that he had "personally surveyed the terrain" and "personally commanded the fighting at the front"? Lies cannot replace facts, and it was futile for Lin Piao to attempt to take the credit for himself.

A "Model" That Goes Against the Laws of Development of War

Dialectical materialism holds that military laws, like the laws of other things, are a reflection in our minds of the action of objective realities. All laws guiding war develop as history develops and as war develops; they are not immutable. In studying and applying laws guiding war, we "should set our eyes on their special characteristics and development and oppose mechanicalism on the question of war." Marxist-Leninist strategic and tactical principles stem from the practice of war and are continuously enriched and developed in the course of revolutionary war. However, Lin Piao looked at war from the idealist and metaphysical viewpoint, and his "six tactical principles" were produced from subjective conjecture and completely went against the laws of war development.

Lin Piao described his "six tactics" as eternal principles, saying that "they were applicable in the past and are applicable now" and "when circumstances change in the future" they still "will be entirely applicable." This is completely antithetical to military dialectics.

Marxism holds that wars differ in timing, location and nature. Wars of different historical periods, different states and nations and different nature are governed by different laws guiding war and different strategic and tactical principles. Warfare changes in keeping with the progress of the productive forces, the improvement of weaponry and equipment and the development of class struggle. In the era when spears and arrows were used, there were the close "square-formation tactics." Later, following the application of flint guns fitted with bayonets, there were the "line-type tactics." With the appearance of muzzle-loaded guns and cannon, there were the "columns tactics" and "dispersed troops tactics." All these spoke for the continuous development of strategy and tactics. Like all reactionary military men in the past and modern times, in China and elsewhere, Lin Piao looked at the laws of development of war from the isolated, static and one-sided point of view. Chiang Kai-shek, the public enemy of the people, once said absurdly: "No matter how the conditions of war and weapons in use have changed, the strategic and tactical principles have always remained the same." Lin Piao's "entirely applicable" is merely trash picked up from Chiang Kai-shek.

Conditions on the battlefield are complex and changing constantly. For every campaign and battle, the conditions of the enemy as well as our own, the terrain, the weather and the support given by the populace are different. Even in the various stages of a campaign or battle, conditions also vary. To employ forces and vary tactics flexibly according to changed conditions is an important way to change the situation as between the enemy and ourselves and to strive for the initiative. On the contrary, Lin Piao summed up rigidly the complex conditions on the battlefield into only three kinds of situations -- "defense," "retreat" and "on the point of retreat." He rigidly summed up the flexible methods of fighting into three methods of fighting -- "not fighting reckless battles," "fighting reckless battles" and "half fighting reckless battles." Are there only three kinds of situations on the battlefield? By referring to these three kinds of situations, he only grasped several superficial phenomena without bothering to find out the intentions of the enemy. By setting forth three methods of fighting, he applied rigid rules to fluid situations, and in doing so he could not but suffer setbacks in practice. Lin Piao changed our army's past fighting slogans -- fight fiercely, charge fiercely and pursue fiercely -- into the "three-fierce tactic," twisting the spirit of revolutionary heroism into recklessness and paying no attention to concrete conditions on the battlefield, to tactics and techniques. As he saw it, "come what may," we had to fight hard, charge hard and pursue hard -- the tactic of fighting recklessly and desperately. Lin Piao also mechanically formulated the several kinds of fighting formations used by our army long before into the "3-3 system tactic," on the basis of which to draw up all "plans for combat actions" without regard to the conditions of the enemy, the terrain and the conditions of weapons and equipment. He attempted to apply one kind of formation to different kinds of situations. In short, Lin Piao rigidly fixed the flexible tactics concerning deployment of forces, methods of fighting, combat formations and regrouping, and timing of

attack, made them absolute, and made them practically "secrets for victory" absolutely applicable everywhere. All his tactics were completely marked by the split between the subjective and the objective, the separation of knowledge from practice, the basis of which could only be sought from the Confucian doctrine "Heaven changes not, so the Way changes not" and Dühring's "model theory;" they "do not smack of the Marxist flavor in the slightest and are anti-Marxist."

Lin Piao's "six tactical principles" had long ago been boycotted by the vast numbers of commanders and fighters, and he was obliged to admit that his tactics "have not aroused the attention of all" and "have not become ideas of the masses." In order to deceive the masses he could not but resort to a set of sophistries like a charlatan. At one moment he said that it was necessary to practice "one point and two directions;" at another, he said that it was possible to "have one point and many directions" or "a point without directions." Suddenly he said that "when you are not well prepared, not to carry out orders and not to fight is right;" then, as suddenly, he said that "to fight means to follow orders. Whether you understand them or not, orders have to be obeyed when they come." And so on and so forth. This is exactly the talk of a double-dealer. Lin Piao himself had to admit: "Tactics need not be thorough. All you have to do is to deal with the situation as it arises." In plain truth, the "six tactics" were no more than "six tricks." Lenin once said in criticism of the opportunists: Like a snake, they slipped between two antagonistic viewpoints. Lin Piao was precisely such a man. With his own words and deeds, he drew a vivid picture of the ugly features of an opportunist.

Sinister Political Motive

Military affairs have always been subordinated to politics. All strategic and tactical principles are of a clearcut class nature and serve the interests of a given class. There was a sinister aim for Lin Piao to cook up his "six tactical principles" and for him and his gang to extoll these principles as sacred and inviolable. The aim was to serve the ultra-Right political line.

During the war to liberate the Northeast, Lin Piao tossed out his "six tactical principles" to counter Chairman Mao's military thinking and strategic and tactical principles. At no time did Chairman Mao endorse Lin Piao's "six tactical principles." On September 15, 1946, Chairman Mao sent Lin Piao a telegram, asking him: What do you mean by one point and two directions? The following day Chairman Mao issued to the whole Party the directive "Concentrate a Superior Force To Destroy the Enemy Forces One by One," which was in effect a negation and criticism of Lin Piao's "one point and two directions tactic." But Lin Piao not only refused to carry out Chairman Mao's directive but even went further by putting out a string of sinister articles to peddle his sinister tactics. On December 25, 1947, Chairman Mao put

forth his famous "ten major principles of military operations." Lin Piao, singing a different tune, went all out to promote the "six tactical principles" and said not a single word about the "ten major principles of military operations" at a military conference called in April 1948. By doing so, Lin Piao was intent on meeting the needs of Liu Shao-ch'i in promoting "a new stage of peace and democracy" and on meeting his own needs in passively avoiding war and preserving his own strength so as to become the "uncrowned king" of the Northeast.

In 1960, Lin Piao, after taking charge of the daily work of the Military Commission, tossed out once again and publicized everywhere his "six tactical principles" by making use of the power and position he had usurped. At the same time, without the knowledge of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, he filled our army's rules and regulations with this set of sinister principles and regarded them as the basic content of tactical training for the whole army. In a surreptitious way, he vainly tried to replace Chairman Mao's "ten major principles of military operations" with his own "six tactical principles" in order to gain political capital for usurping the leadership and command of our army.

Particularly after the 9th Party Congress and the Second Plenary Session of the 9th Party Central Committee, the Lin Piao anti-Party clique stepped up its conspiratorial activities to usurp the Party leadership and seize state power and to restore capitalism. As an important aspect of these activities, Lin Piao and his diehard partners stirred up waves of sinister publicity for the "six tactical principles," writing books on them and distributing them widely. For the sinister book "On Tactical Thinking and Combat Style" alone, some five million copies were printed and distributed. His diehard partners described this book as a work on "the study of war" and "military science" "permeated throughout with military dialectics," virtually lauding it to the skies. "The base means exactly prove the base ends." Putting Lin Piao's reactionary scrolls "restraining oneself and returning to propriety" and their program for an armed counter-revolutionary coup d'etat, the "Outline of 'Project 571'," together will reveal more fully the sinister motive of Lin Piao and company in extolling and peddling the "six tactical principles" -- to turn our army into a tool for restoring capitalism, to serve him in usurping Party and state power, subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat and restoring capitalism.

History is ruthless. "All regressive acts invariably produce results contrary to the desire of their protagonists." Lin Piao, this counter-revolutionary double-dealer, could not escape the same punishment by history as all other reactionaries. Together with his "six tactical principles," he was swept into the garbage heap of history.

* * *

Criticize the Bourgeois Style of Life

- Some understanding from studying "Report to the 2nd Plenary Session of the 7th CCP Central Committee"

by

Fang Hai (方海)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 3, March 16. 1975)

The Chinese people's revolutionary war was winning a total victory throughout the country in March 1949. At the 2nd plenary session of the 7th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Chairman Mao pointed out with foresight: "A drama begins with a prologue, but the prologue is not the climax. The Chinese revolution is great, but the road after the revolution will be longer, the work greater and more arduous. This must be made clear now in the Party. The comrades must be taught to remain modest, prudent and free from arrogance and rashness in their style of work. The comrades must be taught to preserve the style of plain living and hard struggle." Chairman Mao likewise reminded the comrades of the whole Party to guard in particular against the attacks of bourgeois sugar-coated bullets because of the possibility of defeat under the new condition of the victory of China's new democratic revolution.

Since our country was established the vast numbers of Party members and cadres have borne firmly in mind Chairman Mao's teachings, pressing ahead with vigor along the road of socialist revolution and making new contributions to the Party, the people and the cause of socialism with the same revolutionary ardor and dauntless spirit and the same style of plain living and hard struggle they displayed during the period of revolutionary wars. However, a few of them have lost sight of Chairman Mao's teachings, forgetting the great task of continuing the revolution. They become conceited and rest on their laurels, stopping to make progress and indulging in comforts and unwilling to endure hardships. They fall prey to bourgeois flattery and the attacks of sugar-coated bullets. Applying the Marxist-Leninist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat under new historical conditions, Chairman Mao incisively summed up historical and current experience. He pointed out explicitly: "'Small production,' Lenin said, 'engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale.' This also occurs among a section of the workers and a section of the Party members. Both within the ranks of the proletariat and among the personnel of state organs there are people who follow the bourgeois style of life."

The bourgeois style of life manifests itself in many ways within the ranks of the proletariat and among the personnel of state organs. There are those who:

Read neither books nor newspapers, conduct no investigations or study, lord it over others, live in comfort, divorce themselves from the masses and lead the life of an official. This is the first type.

Flag in revolutionary will, have a full stomach all day long, having no cares at all, seeing a doctor without any symptoms of illness, recuperating for a long period of time when taken slightly ill, and seeing sights here and there. This is the second type.

Fear hardship, love pleasure, always ask others to help them and go in for special privilege. This is the third type.

Put on the airs of a self-styled hero, aspire to good reputation and position, and give primacy to personal gain. This is the fourth type.

Behave like philistines given to self-deception and flattery. This is the fifth type.

Approach relatives and friends for favors to others as well as for themselves in disregard of Party principle and in contravention of established policies. This is the sixth type.

Consume and obtain more to the detriment of public well-being and are motivated by self-interest, expropriating things by unlawful means. This is the seventh type.

In the name of cooperation practice private exchange for the purpose of obtaining gain. This is the eighth type.

Vie with others in "being generous" and "showing off," indulging in extravagance and regaling themselves on choice food at the expense of the state. This is the ninth type.

Are given to false talk and superfluous embellishments, spreading rumors and indulging in bourgeois partisanship. This is the tenth type.

The types given above are too numerous to mention. Those who pursue the bourgeois style of life are commonly characterized by their adherence to the bourgeois philosophy of life of "Heaven condemns those who do not do something for themselves."

The reason why some people among our revolutionary ranks take to the bourgeois style of life is that they are subjected to the pernicious influence of the bourgeois world outlook. If they slide and drift along, they might degenerate into new bourgeois elements. Some of their muddle-headed notions are analyzed below.

People who are imbued with the mercenary bourgeois view of "enjoying a little more because of one's merit in the revolution" regard themselves as a commodity. They look upon their meritorious service as

capitsl with which they seek the pleasures of life multiplied ten thousand-fold. This was severely criticized by Lenin who was referring to the "narrow vision of harshly haggling, unwilling to work a half hour more than others or get a little less than others in remuneration." Marxists in fact have never bothered about personal merit. In the dark years of capitalism Marx's life was one of hardship, of preoccupation with work, a life of tenacious combat. Marx said, "We are fighting for the eight-hour work system yet our own working time has often doubled this." What a noble spirit! Finally Marx departed from this world sitting at his desk, at his fighting station. Tens of thousands of revolutionary martyrs gave up their lives to mankind's most sublime cause, communism, during the raging war years, without ever giving a thought to their meritorious contributions or ever entertaining the idea of using the revolution in exchange for personal comforts. When we think of Marxist teachings and the tens of thousands of revolutionary martyrs, shouldn't our faces turn red?

Another notion holds that "changes in one's position and living with the provision of special facilities go hand in hand with work requirements." Marxists have long opposed the idea of absolute egalitarianism. But it would be wrong to show an unwillingness to be an ordinary laborer after one's position has undergone changes, aspiring to bourgeois rights and insisting on special privileges under the pretext of special circumstances. Comrades like these fail to understand this primary principle: "Regardless of their high or low positions all our working cadres are the servants of the people." Communists are the advanced elements of the proletariat, they are not special personages outside and above the rank and file. Communists and particularly Party functionaries must not therefore spare themselves. They must keep close ties with the masses, doing more and getting less, suffering first and enjoying last. This is the right attitude.

"Since the question of one's style of life is a trivial matter why make all the fuss." This way of putting it is incorrect. Chairman Mao has said, "Keeping to the correct political orientation is inseparable from the work style of plain living and hard struggle. Without a firm and correct political orientation it would be impossible to foster a work style of plain living and hard struggle. Without the work style of plain living and hard struggle, it would likewise be impossible to implement the firm and correct political orientation." Maintaining the work style of plain living and hard struggle therefore provides important guarantees for carrying out the correct line. The reason why newly engendered bourgeois elements have appeared among a section of our working class and among a section of the Party members more often than not is that a breakthrough has been made by the bourgeois in their everyday life. It would be impossible for those who lead an unclean life to be honest politically. This is true of all those degenerate elements uncovered during the "three-anti" and "five-anti" campaigns, the socialist education movement carried out in urban and

rural areas, and the great proletarian cultural revolution. We must resolutely uproot the pernicious influence of the idea that "trivial things are harmless" as spread by swindlers like Lin Piao and always uphold the true colors of the proletariat of carrying out hard struggle.

The struggle between bourgeois erosion and proletarian counter-erosion pervades the entire historical period of socialism. Our comrades therefore must proceed from the plane of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and consciously resist the material inducements of the bourgeoisie and assorted ideas applauding bourgeois rights, daring to struggle against the bourgeois style of life. As long as the bourgeois heresy is not suppressed, the proletarian sense of uprightness cannot come to the fore. Since this concerns the situation as a whole, we must uphold the public spirit and not care for personal gain or loss, gratitude or grievance. The broad masses are determined to criticize the bourgeois style of life. On the other hand, those comrades who are imbued in varying degrees with the bourgeois style of life may also mend their ways and rectify their shortcomings through criticism and self-criticism and by means of study so as to raise their awareness. We strongly believe that the overwhelming majority of people want revolution and desire to take the socialist road. By further remolding themselves in struggle and washing away the mud and filth carried over from the old society, they will certainly achieve a new unity on the basis of Mao Tsetung thought.

Today, the great proletarian cultural revolution has scored a great victory while the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius has likewise achieved tremendous results. A thriving scene has appeared for our socialist cause. Going over Chairman Mao's teachings at the 2nd plenary session of the 7th Central Committee of the CCP now, we gain a particular sense of affinity. "Resist corrosion and never be contaminated by it." Let us bear closely in mind Chairman Mao's teachings and carry to completion the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

* * *

The Great Road, the Radiant Truth

- Study Lenin's theory and practice on the dictatorship of the proletariat

by

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(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 3, March 16, 1975)

Our great leader Chairman Mao pointed out recently: "Why did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? This question must be thoroughly understood." Before and after the October Revolution, Lenin had written a large number of splendid works during the struggle of the Russian proletariat to seize and consolidate political power, both defending and developing the Marxist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat. For us to make a serious study of these works and to find out how Lenin had defended and developed the Marxist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat during the struggle is a matter of vital immediate significance in consolidating and strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat today.

"The State and Revolution," written by Lenin on the eve of the October Revolution in 1917, was a brilliant work systematically expounding the Marxist theory of the state. In his work, Lenin criticized the fallacies of the revisionists of the Second International on the question of the state, restored and safeguarded the Marxist theory of the state, and laid the ideological and theoretical basis for the Russian proletariat to seize political power and to set up and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. Prior to the October Revolution, due to the revolutionary crisis caused by World War I, the international communist movement was sharply confronted with the question of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. In Russia, a revolutionary situation was created by the imperialist war and under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, the February Revolution was staged, the Tsarist Government was overthrown, and a Workers' and Soldiers' Soviet was founded. However, the political power soon fell into the hands of the bourgeoisie as the Mensheviks who infiltrated into the Workers' and Soldiers' Soviet and the Socialist-Revolutionaries betrayed the revolution. In this situation, to seize political power by force of arms and to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat became an urgent task facing the Russian working class. As Lenin said: "For the socialist revolution of the proletariat the question of attitude toward the state is not only of significance but of the most urgent significance in political practice."

But precisely at such a time the revisionists of the Second International created a great deal of confusion on the question of the state. They had blind faith in the parliamentary system; they opposed violent revolution, the smashing of the bourgeois state machine by the proletariat, and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In Russia

the Socialist-Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks went all out to peddle the bourgeois and revisionist trash, opposed the seizure of political power by the proletariat, and called for sincere cooperation with the bourgeoisie. Therefore, it became a task of the utmost urgency for the Bolshevik Party to criticize revisionism, to imbue the working class and the toiling masses with the Marxist theory on the state and the dictatorship of the proletariat and lead them to seize political power. It was in these circumstances that Lenin wrote "The State and Revolution," explaining theoretically the historical inevitability of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin pointed out: The state is the product of the irreconcilability of class antagonisms, an instrument of class struggle; the proletariat must smash the old state machine by violent revolution and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. Moreover, he added: "Only he is a Marxist who extends the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is what constitutes the most profound difference between the Marxist and the ordinary petty (as well as big) bourgeois. This is the touchstone on which the real understanding and recognition of Marxism is to be tested."

In "The State and Revolution," Lenin dwelt on the necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the period of transition from capitalism to communism, the nature and tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the economic basis for the withering away of the state under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin pointed out: "Forward development, i.e., toward communism, proceeds through the dictatorship of the proletariat, and cannot do otherwise." He also scientifically analyzed the inevitable existence of bourgeois right in the socialist period and the reason why socialist society "cannot still free itself entirely from the traditions or traces of capitalism." "Of course, bourgeois right in regard to the distribution of articles of consumption inevitably presupposes the existence of the bourgeois state, for right is nothing without an apparatus capable of enforcing the observance of the standards of right." It is only by restricting and gradually eliminating bourgeois right, overcoming the factors of decaying capitalism and developing the factors of communism with the dictatorship of the proletariat in the socialist period that it is possible to prevent capitalist restoration and advance toward communism step by step.

Due to the swift outbreak of the October Revolution, Lenin did not have the time to finish "The State and Revolution." However, he said excitedly: "I am only pleased by such 'interruption'." "Because it is more pleasant and more beneficial to create 'revolutionary experience' than to relate 'revolutionary experience'." The October Revolution having overthrown Russia's provisional bourgeois government, Lenin set himself to work tensely in setting up and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. He called on the toiling masses to expropriate the exploiters, abolish the system of private landownership, and establish generally workers' and peasants' governments throughout Russia. However, the victory of the October Revolution aroused the

frantic resistance of all overthrown exploiting classes. Again and again they staged counter-revolutionary rebellions and attacked the newly born Soviet government. A handful of opportunists within the Party were so frightened by the relentless class struggle that they agreed to the setting up of "a government of Socialist-Revolutionaries" and to the demand for the withdrawal of the Bolsheviks from the political stage. On the economic front the struggle was equally sharp. The Soviet government met with desperate resistance from the bourgeoisie in the course of taking over banks and instituting workers' supervision in industrial enterprises. As the proletariat, which had just acquired political power, was inexperienced in economic management and lacked institutions and cadres for economic management, some weak links and chaos appeared on the economic front. The bourgeoisie was thus able to stir up ill winds everywhere: "The Bolsheviks have held the reins of power for two months, but what we have seen is not a socialist paradise but a hell created by chaos, civil war and greater destruction." Meanwhile, among the Party members, cadres and the masses there were some people who were deceived by these phenomena at this turning point of the revolution. Thus, a focal point of the struggle at that time was whether to affirm or negate the October Revolution, whether to affirm or negate the dictatorship of the proletariat. In December 1917, in the article "Scared Off By the Destruction of Old Things and Fight for New Things," Lenin analyzed the political situation at that time, pointing out: Without the destruction of the old state machine, "there is no and cannot be any other way leading to socialism." "Workers' supervision and nationalization of banks have taken effect, but this is only an initial step toward socialism," and they were revolutionary new things. The struggle between the new things and the old things is in effect "a holy war to free the laborers from all forms of oppression." Lenin took the view that the class positions and world outlooks of different classes were reflected by whether they affirmed or negated the dictatorship of the proletariat. "The harder the exploiters try to safeguard the old things, the greater becomes the need for the proletariat to learn more quickly ways to drive its own class enemies from their last corners, to dig away the old roots of their rule, to remove the fertile soil that can produce (and will produce) the wage slave system, the poverty of the masses and the huge fortunes of the rich."

It was after he had made a penetrating study of the past and current conditions of Russia that Lenin put forward the new task of removing the fertile soil of capitalism. In a "Report on the Work of the People's Council" on January 11, 1918, Lenin said: "It goes without saying that the transition toward socialism in such a small country as Islam where everyone reads and agriculture is developed throughout the land must necessarily differ from that in a country like Russia where the petty bourgeoisie holds the upper hand." As capitalism developed rather late in Russia, she had a large rural population, the feudal remnants were quite stubborn, and small producers existed in large numbers, "and small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale." In Russia, therefore, the soil breeding the spontaneous forces of capitalism was spread more widely than in a typical capitalist country. Five different kinds of social-economic components still existed in

Soviet Russia after the October Revolution, and when the Soviet government was intensely engaged in the struggle against the counter-revolutionary rebellions of the bourgeoisie, the capitalist spontaneous forces took the opportunity to rear their heads. Some people looked at the victory of the bourgeoisie in the way the small proprietors looked at it, and said, "The capitalists have grabbed, let's have a go, too." In both cities and the countryside millions and millions of small proprietors and small traders were engaged in profiteering, while the rich peasants capitalized on the temporary difficulties of the state and the people to amass a fortune. At the time when the revolution was undergoing a major change, some elements of disintegration in society could not but "reveal themselves." There were increases in crime, hooliganism, corruption, profiteering and outrages of every kind. "To put these down requires time and requires an iron hand."

In April 1918, Lenin made public "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government," in which he further elaborated on the need to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and to remove the capitalist soil after the victory of the revolution. He pointed out: "The bourgeoisie in our country has been vanquished, but it has not yet been uprooted, not yet destroyed, and not even utterly broken. That is why a new and higher form of struggle against the bourgeoisie is on the order of the day, the transition from the very simple task of further expropriating the capitalists to the much more complicated and difficult task of creating conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist, or for a new bourgeoisie to arise. Clearly, this task is immeasurably more significant than the previous one; and until it is fulfilled there will be no socialism." Lenin was of the view that to completely eradicate capitalist soil, it was necessary to have a strict organizational discipline, strengthen democratic centralism and convert the past discipline which the exploiters forced the people to observe into a discipline of a Soviet socialist nature which the people observe consciously and voluntarily; while in the countryside it was necessary to rely on the poor peasants, win over the middle peasants, suppress the resistance of the rich peasants, intensify rural socialist transformation, and run every place and unit well with the dictatorship of the proletariat. Summing up the historical experience, Lenin said: "The misfortune of previous revolutions was that the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses, which sustained them in their state of tension and gave them the strength ruthlessly to suppress the elements of disintegration, did not last long." He called on the Russian proletariat and revolutionary people to preserve their past revolutionary enthusiasm in ruthlessly suppressing the elements of disintegration and to carry the revolution through to the end.

The publication of "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government" was immediately greeted by the warm support of the Party and the working class and became the clarion call for a new offensive by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. The Bolshevik Party strengthened its leadership over government organs and other revolutionary bodies and nationalized all large industrial enterprises and a number of medium-sized ones. In

the rural areas, the workers helped the poor peasants set up poor peasants committees and suppress the resistance of the rich peasants, and a great number of agricultural communes and other production joint organizations emerged in the process. At the same time, the Soviet Government stepped up its internal reorganization, calling on the Party members and cadres to abide by Party discipline strictly, and would not permit any of them to have special privileges. Lenin set the example in observing discipline, regarding himself from first to last as a fighter of the proletarian revolution. In May 1918, when the director of the general services department of the People's Council, Pu-lu-yeh-wei-chi, on his own authority increased Lenin's salary, he was severely cautioned by the latter. Offensives on all fronts against the bourgeoisie thus basically assured the consolidation and strengthening of the Soviet government.

The road for the dictatorship of the proletariat has never been smooth. The victorious advance of the Soviet government along the socialist road frightened the foreign imperialists. In the summer of 1918, the imperialist powers -- Britain, the United States of America, France, Japan and Germany -- launched a joint armed intervention against Soviet Russia. Enemies inside the country were also on the move, desperately trying to restore the old system with the support of the imperialists. The ruthless war further tempered the dictatorship of the proletariat of the Soviet, making it still firmer. With profound feelings about the dictatorship of the proletariat, the working class and the toiling masses united closely around the Bolshevik Party headed by Lenin. The middle peasants, too, came over to the side of the revolution, having suffered from the evils caused by the counter-revolutionary forces. In accordance with the needs of the war and also in consideration of these favorable factors, the Soviet government decided to nationalize all industry, introduced a system of collecting the surplus grain of the peasants, and enforced a system of universal voluntary labor, compelling the bourgeoisie to take part in voluntary physical labor. These were known in history as policies of "wartime communism." Undoubtedly, a socialist country which had just emerged from the womb of the capitalist society would surely meet with great resistance in carrying out these policies of "wartime communism." In Russia after the October Revolution, the capitalist commodity economy still existed and a new bourgeoisie was still engendered continuously, not only from among personnel of state organs but also from those peasants and handicraftsmen who, though they had freed themselves from the fetters of the old system, were still in the state of small production. Even some workers, while building a new society, had not yet turned themselves into new people free from the dirt of the old world. In addition, some so-called "communists" hurriedly climbed onto the nest of happiness and grabbed what they could lay their fingers on after the people had driven away the landlords and capitalists. These traditional forces of capitalism and the new bourgeois elements engendered from them were seriously resisting the implementation of these policies of "wartime communism." Without struggling against them, the Soviet government could not hope to advance a single step. When the Soviet government was actively unfolding this struggle, the bourgeoisie frantically attacked the dictatorship

of the proletariat and denounced the Soviet government for wrecking the freedom and equality of the people. In May 1919, Lenin wrote the article "Deception of the People with Slogans of Freedom and Equality," in which he strongly refuted the false doctrines of the bourgeoisie. He pointed out that the so-called "freedom and equality" had all along had concrete class content. "'Equality'....is a deceptive thing if it comes into conflict with freeing labor from capitalist oppression." This is because "the ownership of the means of production, money and capital is preventing people from enjoying this equality. It may be possible to abolish immediately ownership of houses by the rich and to expropriate more quickly capital and tools of production, but the ownership of money will be retained." Money is a remnant of capitalism, and through formal equality in the exchange of equal values it covers factual inequality. "The equality we strive for is the abolition of classes." Hence the need to abolish the hypocritical forms of equality under capitalism. These statements by Lenin rebuked the bourgeoisie theoretically and paved the way for the implementation of policies of "wartime communism."

While organizing the struggle against the armed interventionists and the White Guard elements, Lenin continued to deepen his study of the question of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In June 1919, he wrote the shining piece "A Great Beginning." In this work Lenin highly appraised the "subbotniks" organized by the railway workers of Moscow on their own initiative and, basing himself on the basic principle of the Marxist theory of the state and on the practice of the dictatorship of the proletariat after the October Revolution, he profoundly expounded the historical tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin pointed out: "In order to achieve victory, in order to build and consolidate socialism, the proletariat must fulfill a twofold or dual task: first, it must, by its supreme heroism in the revolutionary struggle against capital, win over the entire mass of the toilers and exploited; it must win them over, organize them and lead them in the struggle to overthrow the bourgeoisie and utterly suppress its resistance. Second, it must lead the whole mass of the toilers and exploited, as well as all the petty-bourgeois strata, onto the road of new economic construction, onto the road to the creation of social ties, a new labor discipline, a new organization of labor, which will combine the last word in science and capitalist technology with the mass association of class-conscious workers creating large-scale socialist production." In other words, the proletariat, after seizing political power, must exercise its dictatorship in firmly suppressing the resistance of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, thoroughly transform small producers, eliminate the traces left over from the old society, and build a new socialist system. Lenin praised these "subbotniks" as "a great beginning." He said: "'Communist' features begin only with the appearance of subbotniks, that is, the unpaid work of individual persons, unregulated by any government or state, performed on a wide scale for the public good." In order to develop the function of the Party organization as the proletarian vanguard, Lenin also proposed to continue purging the Party by taking advantage of this great beginning and admitted into Party membership only those who courageously defended

the dictatorship of the proletariat and actively devoted themselves to revolutionary practice in the revolutionary way. He called for the expulsion of those so-called "communists" who refused to go to the front to fight but wanted to enjoy a life of comfort and leisure.

Not long after the publication of "A Great Beginning," Lenin wrote "Economics and Politics in the Era of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" in October 1919. He pointed out: The socialist period is a period of struggle between decaying capitalism and growing communism. In this period, the class of exploiters, the landlords and capitalists, has not disappeared. "Just because they have been defeated, their energy of resistance has increased a hundred- and thousand-fold. The 'art' of state, military and economic administration gives them a superiority, and a very great superiority, so that their importance is incomparably greater than their numerical strength among the population would warrant." Lenin also stressed that the peasants, like the petty-bourgeoisie, also wavered between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and that to eliminate classes was to eliminate the differences between workers and peasants, a prolonged and difficult task of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

For the new things to prevail over the old things, for communist factors to prevail over capitalist forces, it is not enough to rely on organizational measures alone; principally it is necessary to carry out ideological education among the masses of the people. Lenin attached prime importance to the question of introducing communist education among the proletariat and the masses of the people. In "The Tasks of the Youth Leagues," Lenin pointed out: carrying out communist education "is to unite the toilers against the morality that serves all exploitation and all small property." This is because in the old society, you either exploit or be exploited, and this concept is deeply entrenched in people's minds. Communist education aims at making the most complete break with all private property and concepts of private ownership, so that "every worker and peasant may say: I am part of the great army of free labor, and I can build my life without the landlords and capitalists, I can establish the communist system." Lenin maintained that the victory of communism depended to a very large extent on how the work of communist education was done.

The Soviet government, led by Lenin, adopted a series of measures for strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat, enabling the Soviet people to wage conscious struggle for the defense of the dictatorship of the proletariat and assuring victory in the struggle against imperialist armed intervention and in the civil war. While leading the Russian Communist Party and the Soviet state, Lenin also paid much attention to the international workers' movement at that time, linking the struggle at home with the international struggle. In April 1920, Lenin wrote "'Left-Wing' Communism, An Infantile Disorder," in which he summed up the historical experience of Russia and the international workers movement. He said: Right-deviating opportunism "was the principal enemy of Bolshevism within the working-class movement. It remains the principal enemy internationally too. The Bolsheviks devoted, and continue

to devote, most attention to this enemy." Another enemy of Bolshevism within the working-class movement was the "Left"-deviating tide of thought, petty-bourgeois revolutionism, "which falls short, in anything essential, of the conditions and requirements of a consistently proletarian class struggle." In this work Lenin further developed the theory of the proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship. In particular, he stressed the leading role of the proletarian party in the dictatorship of the proletariat and stressed the need to use the iron discipline of the proletarian party to break the resistance of the bourgeoisie and to overcome the spinelessness and disunity of the petty-bourgeoisie. Lenin said: In the struggle against the bourgeoisie, "without an iron party tempered in the struggle, without a party enjoying the confidence of all that is honest in the given class, without a party capable of watching and influencing the mood of the masses, it is impossible to conduct such a struggle successfully. It is a thousand times easier to vanquish the centralized big bourgeoisie than to 'vanquish' the millions and millions of small owners; yet they, by their ordinary, everyday, imperceptible, elusive, demoralizing activity, achieve the very results which the bourgeoisie need and which tend to restore the bourgeoisie. Whoever weakens ever so little the iron discipline of the party of the proletariat (especially during the time of its dictatorship), actually aids the bourgeoisie against the proletariat."

Statements made by Lenin before and after the October Revolution on the theory of the proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship are mighty ideological weapons which guide us to consolidate and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat. Today, the Chinese people, under the leadership of the great leader Chairman Mao, are marching in broad strides along the great road of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and Lenin's theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat is inspiring us to go from victories to greater victories.

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The Truth About International Pickpockets

- Comment on Soviet revisionist foreign trade in last two years

by

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A new wave of economic crises is at the moment fiercely pounding at the major capitalist countries of the world. To free itself from its economic predicament, Soviet revisionist social imperialism is likewise taking advantage of the capitalist imperialist economic crises to feather its own nest by playing the ugly role of an international pick-pocket.

Facts cited below will prove my assertion.

In recent years Soviet revisionism has on the one hand called for "detente" and, on the other, tried to sell huge amounts of weapons to other countries. According to incomplete figures, from 1955 to 1972 Soviet revisionism sold arms that had progressively risen to as much as US$28.5 billion, averaging US$1.67 billion a year. Since the Middle East October war of 1973, it has supplied Syria alone with arms valued at US$2 billion. In addition, Soviet arms sold to Libya in 1974 amounted to US$1.2-1.5 billion. Western and Japanese newspaper comments were in agreement that Middle East countries holding "petrodollars in substantial amounts" became the "focal point of arms sales" for the two superpowers, the USSR and the US.

Every petrodollar that has trickled into the purse of Soviet revisionism contains the blood and tears of the Arabs. Claiming to be the "natural ally" of the Arabs, Soviet revisionism took advantage of the Middle East war to raise the prices of arms, thus forcing the Arab countries to meet payments with oil at reduced prices or in US dollars. "Algeria alone paid Moscow US$200 million for arms delivered to Egypt and Syria." Regarding this sum of money, just as Lenin pointed out when he was unmasking US imperialism at the time: "Every US dollar is tarnished and contaminated with 'lucrative' military orders that make the rich in every country amass enormous wealth and the poor go bankrupt." (Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. III)

As an ammunition dealer, Soviet revisionism likewise serves as an international oil speculator. The chieftains of the Soviet Foreign Trade Ministry said unabashedly, "The allegation accusing the Soviet Union of 'turning against the Arab states' ...and taking advantage of the current crisis to reap profits is a lie, with vicious motives in mind." This is indeed self-deception, like an ostrich burying its head in the

sand and holding its bottom high. After the Middle East war broke out in October 1973, the Arabs imposed an oil embargo as a counter-measure against the aggression carried out by US imperialism and Israeli Zionism. As regards Soviet revisionism, verbal support was pledged but oil was secretly and continuously shipped to the US and other countries on the embargo list. An American capitalist said approvingly, "We have established such fine working relations with the Russians that even at the time of the embargo we have not expected in the least that they will consider cutting off their supplies." When the Netherlands was on the embargo list, Soviet oil shipments to that country were deliberately increased. What is particularly revolting is that the USSR took advantage of the temporary difficulties besetting the Arab states and energy shortages among the European countries to force the former to meet Soviet arms payments with cheaply priced oil, which was later sold to European countries at high prices for excessive profits "behind the backs of the Arab states." Iraq, for instance, was forced to sell to the USSR at the reduced price oil worth £6 million in payment of part of Soviet arms deliveries. The Iraqi oil was resold to West Germany for £18 million, at a profit of 300 percent for the Russians. Employing the same vile means, Soviet revisionism imported in 1973 more than 14 million tons of oil from the Middle East. Its prices were raised as soon as a partial oil embargo went into effect. The Guinean President pointed out: The prices of Soviet oil sold to Guinea went up by as much as 350 percent. According to Western sources, through resale and sales of Soviet Russia's own oil supplies over the past year, the amount of the ill-gotten wealth obtained by Soviet revisionism was estimated at about US$3.7 billion. Soviet oil exports to the West in 1973 came to 352 million barrels. According to the contracted price, the Soviet revisionists were to receive US$1.05 billion, but due to higher oil price they actually received US$1.7 billion, an extra profit of US$700 million. Even if Soviet exports to the West in 1974 were not in excess of its 1973 figures, profits reaped would still rise by close to US$3 billion, equivalent to half of the total Soviet exports to the West and developing countries in 1973. This hideous performance in oil trading has exposed Soviet revisionism as a most ferocious enemy of the Third World harboring sinister intentions and employing double-dealing tactics.

In natural gas Soviet revisionism has likewise resorted to speculative and profiteering practices, buying low and selling high. The USSR was reported to have purchased from Iran and other countries about 14 billion cubic meters of natural gas at cheap prices, at least 12 billion cubic meters having been transhipped midway to Western Europe. The gas was bought at US$0.19½ per cubic meter but sold to West European countries at US$0.45 per cubic meter after gas prices were readjusted by the producers.

The excessive profits obtained by Soviet revisionism from arms and oil sales have been used mainly to purchase advanced technology and equipment of the West, for the purpose of accelerating the Soviet arms expansion and combat-readiness program and of giving a shot in the arm to its chaotic national economy. According to statistics compiled by the British Economic Review quarterly, the Soviet Union's 1973 volume of trade

with eleven Western trading partners registered a rise of 46 percent over the preceding year, but the Soviet unfavorable trade balance for the same year amounted to US$1.13 billion. This unfavorable trade balance would have been greater, the British quarterly noted, if Moscow had not raised its oil prices at the end of that year. "Generally speaking," the review observed, the Soviet Union "managed to have a surplus of 300 million roubles in its external trade," as a result of its arms sales and plunder of the Third World in 1973. It was estimated that by 1974 Soviet trade with the West would show significant increases, with the volume of Soviet-West German trade rising from 9 billion to 15 billion francs and that of Soviet-French trade up from 4.5 to 5.5 billion francs. And according to the International Monetary Fund's projections, the USSR in 1974 would probably have a favorable balance in its trade with the West, with the total amount reaching the region of US$1.5-2 billion. This prompted the US publication Business Week to make this comment: "The fortunate thing is that the Russians have the money to pay for the equipment they urgently need. They can earn more now by exporting gold and oil to the West and selling arms to Middle East countries." As an upstart as well as an "avaricious partner," (in the words of Le Monde) Soviet revisionism with US dollars jingling and flirting and bargaining with Western capitalists went in for "doing business on a cash basis." According to the same US publication, in the past the Russians insisted on paying "10 percent in cash" when purchasing equipment from the West but now they would pay "100 percent in cash." The periodical reported that the vendors could obtain cash from the Russians for transactions below US$4 million at a time and that the Russians were even ready to pay cash by installments for technical equipment valued at US$1.2 billion imported from West German financial syndicates.

In the economic crisis gripping the capitalist world a new round of trade and raw material battles occurred between Soviet revisionism and US imperialism. Lenin once pointed out: "An important feature of imperialism is a contention for supremacy among several big powers, that is, a striving for territory. It is not altogether aimed at themselves only but rather for the purpose of weakening the enemy side and destroying its domination." Lenin also said: "Imperialism is characterized by the exertion of efforts not just confined to the annexation of the agricultural areas but even by strivings for the most developed industrial areas." (Lenin: "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. II) Today, the two superpowers, the USSR and the US, are vainly trying to dominate the world, striving to place the developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America under their respective control. They also attempt to extend their control to those developed nations that are not as strong as they. After turning Eastern Europe into a Soviet satellite, Soviet revisionism has been trying ways and means to exclude the US and expel its influence from countries of Western Europe. Taking advantage of the predicament of West European capitalist countries during the economic crisis, the USSR has waved before them an olive branch of oil and natural gas. Chanting such appealing tunes as "total European co-operation" and "all-round cooperation in projects," it has signed long-term economic, scientific and technical and industrial cooperation agreements

with Austria, France, West Germany, Finland, the United Kingdom and Italy, apart from concluding 20-year long-term agreements with Finland, West Germany, France and Italy on supply of natural gas. According to Japanese reports, Finland was supplied in 1974 with 500 million cubic meters of natural gas, rising to 1,400 million cubic meters a year two and three years afterward; West Germany was supplied with natural gas from 1973, estimated to reach 7,000 million cubic meters by 1980; Italy was supplied with natural gas from 1974, rising to 6,000 million cubic meters a year at the peak supply period; and France would be supplied with 2,500 million cubic meters commencing 1976. These high-sounding agreements and contracts are designed in essence to extend West European "cooperation" to the Soviet sphere of influence. When Western Europe was hit by oil shortages in 1973, the USSR promised West Germany increased supply of oil on condition that Bonn would lessen its ties with NATO. The USSR also threatened Iceland with discontinued supply of oil unless it rejected a NATO proposal to set up a base in that country. Therefore, the so-called "all-round cooperation" is far from an olive branch but a big stick brandished by Soviet revisionism before West European countries. A West German weekly journal wrote: "The energy crisis has placed an additional tool for applying pressure on Bonn in the hands of the Soviets and only a trickle of oil and gas flows into the Federal Republic, although an increased supply has been agreed upon."

Soviet attempts to undermine the US and get into the sphere of influence of US imperialism will not please the US at all. Desperate Soviet efforts to establish a foothold in Western Europe has matched similar US efforts to infiltrate Eastern Europe. According to an official US statement, total US exports to East European members of COMECON in 1973 more than doubled the 1972 figures. US imperialism has commenced scouring East European markets for raw materials, machinery, automobiles and chemicals. Employing machinations and counter-machinations, the two superpowers, the US and the USSR, try to undermine each other in every possible way in their strivings for supremacy.

The acute contradiction and conflict between Soviet revisionism and US imperialism is nowhere more prominently demonstrated than in the Middle East oil resource and arms market. Since the USSR is powerless to exploit its own oil resources, it has to solicit the West's investment and technological cooperation. Why, then, does it spare no expense and stake everything it has on economic and military "aid" to Middle East countries? The USSR has exported tens of millions of tons of crude oil every year and why is it engaged in such deals as "swapping arms for oil" and "exchanging machinery for oil"? Apart from obtaining excessive profits through a quick succession of purchases and resales, the Soviet approach is in the main subordinated to its unchanging objective of contending with US imperialism for world hegemony. In its striving for the Middle East it is in reality aimed at seizing the lucrative European market by elbowing out US imperialism from the flank. A Japanese publication pointed out that Soviet overtures to the Middle East "are not keyed to the economic consideration of having access to oil resources, but are motivated, through the Middle East oil resources, by the need to establish

a favorable position vis-a-vis the West, particularly the US." Half of the Middle East oil output is now under the control of US monopolist capital. Apart from meeting the needs of American allies, more and more of the Middle East oil has been shipped to the US. If US imperialism is replaced by Soviet revisionism, the latter will have in its grip West Europe and Japan which are dependent on Middle East oil. In the words of a Western newspaper report, "Whoever has access to oil controls the world, particularly Europe which is dependent on Middle East oil supplies." It is precisely because of this that Soviet revisionism has shifted to the Middle East area the major portion of its total volume of trade with the developing countries. On the other hand, the USSR has to pass through the Middle East when heading westward to the Mediterranean or southward to the Indian Ocean. Once the Suez is reopened to traffic the strategic position of the Middle East will increase. This has therefore intensified the strivings between Soviet revisionism and US imperialism. When the former began to pave a road in an Arab state close to the Red Sea, the latter followed suit by paving another route. Hardly had a US-Egyptian agreement on the installation of a nuclear reactor in the Arab state been implemented than the USSR hurriedly offered to supply a similar reactor. Commenting on this, a Western newspaper report said: "This step which seeks to restore close Soviet-Egyptian ties is harmful to the US." In the final analysis, what Soviet revisionism has done in the Middle East is all connected with Soviet strivings with US imperialism for domination of the Middle East and eventual control of Europe and the world.

The Soviet foreign trade serves as a barometer of its contentions with the US for the commodities market, regions producing raw materials and spheres of influence. About 70 percent of the total volume of the Soviet trade has been concentrated in Europe, explaining that the European continent is the focal point of its contentions with US imperialism. Diversion of the bulk of the Soviet revisionist trade with the developing countries to the Middle East likewise illustrates the strategic importance of the Middle East to the Soviet coveting of the European market from the flank.

Next to oil, food is one of the world economic problems that have come to the fore. On this issue Soviet revisionism which has claimed to be a "developed socialist state" has suffered crop failures for years in succession. Unable to get by, it has to scrape the world food market with heavy purchases. Because of Soviet purchases of about 30 million tons of food in 1972, world food prices went out of control, resulting in the steepest fall in US wheat reserves in 20 years and losses amounting to US$370 million. Consequently, an uproar denouncing the "crafty Russians" for having "robbed" the US was raised and echoed throughout America. When Soviet revisionism sought to take advantage of a severe cold spell which hit the US in 1974 to order the purchase of another 3,400,000 tons of American wheat, prompt US government intervention greatly reduced Soviet purchases. In this farce the two superpowers were involved in a "scrambling for food" act.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "'Lifting a rock only to drop it on one's own feet' is a Chinese folk saying to describe the behavior of certain fools. The reactionaries in all countries are fools of this kind." ("Speech at the Meeting of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR in Celebration of the 40th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution") Through foreign trade Soviet revisionist social imperialism has in recent years indulged in pickpocketing in a big way, extorting and blackmailing people everywhere. In fact those who try to harm others get harmed themselves in the end. This is the fate befalling all reactionaries and there is no escape from it.

History has repeatedly told us that the economic crisis has intensified imperialist scrambles for the market and aggravated competiion in the investment field. The keen battles for trade and natural resources will often make conditions ripe for a new war and for redividing the world. The economic crisis of 1900-03 led to the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese war which resulted in the redivision of Northeast China and Korea. The economic crisis of the 1930's contributed to factors which engendered two wars. Today, the two superpowers, the USSR and the US, are contending for world hegemony, with troubles brewing in the wake of their strivings. The root cause of worldwide disquiet is the hegemonic strivings between the two superpowers. The danger of a world war still exists so we must heighten our vigilance.

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Shen K'uo and His "Dream Brook Random Notes"

- 2nd Selection from "Historical Notes on Struggle between Confucianists and Legalists"

by

Han T'ien-yü (韩天宇) and

Wang Kuo-jung (王国荣)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 2, February 10, 1975)

As political reform initiated by Wang An-shih entered its third year in 1072 A.D., the struggle between the old and the new intensified. That year there wasn't a drop of rain over the plains of Hopei for nine consecutive months, and the cracks in the earth were already indicative of how serious the drought had become. The ultra-conservative Ssuma Kuang and his diehard followers gloated over the situation and spread rumors all around the imperial court from morning till night saying the drought was a sign of punishment from Heaven on the reform movement. "Away with An-shih, and there will be rain!" they clamored. At this particular moment, a middle-aged official of the Observatory stood out and proclaimed: "The sign of rain has already been observed. There will be rain tomorrow!" Ah, there will be rain tomorrow! The imperial court seemed to have been brought back to life again as the Confucianists threatened: "It is difficult to predict the temper of Heaven. What proof have you? What if there is no rain tomorrow? You will, mind you, be found guilty of deceiving the Emperor!" The official kept his head and explained the discoveries he had made about the weather with the help of new instruments. The next day, as had been predicted, the sky was deafened with claps of thunder as lightning struck across the horizon, and the scorching drought was dispelled by a heartening downpour, washing away all those rumors spread by the Confucianists. The weather forecaster was none other than the newly appointed head of the Observatory, Shen K'uo.

It was not long before that Wang An-shih had Shen K'uo replace the Confucianist K'ang Ying as head of the Observatory because K'ang had vilified the reform, saying that because of it, "the skies are gloomy, and the stars have all been thrown off their orbits." Shen K'uo lost no time in carrying out reform as he took office. He dismissed at one stroke six Confucianists who advocated metaphysics and astrology. He went against the rule and asked a commoner, the astronomer Wei P'u, to devise a new calendar and to improve such astronomical instruments as the celestial globe, so that a scientific explanation could be given to the formation of eclipses. This so infuriated those believers of the Confucian dogma that they engineered political persecution against him. The undaunted Shen K'uo kept up the struggle by producing astronomical data to prove that "matter behaves in its own manner," that changes in nature follow their own rules and have nothing to do with astrological warnings at all. Subsequently, research work conducted in the Observatory under the direction of the political line of the Legalist school rendered staunch support to the fight for reform. The forecast of rain was but one example.

Shen K'uo, an outstanding Legalist and a great scientist, born of the progressive political reform movement initiated by Wang An-shih in the 11th century, had his own right of being remarkable in persistently staying in the frontline of battle as he coordinated his scientific experimenting with the political demands of the struggle and so very effectively served the political line of the Legalist school.

Shen K'uo flew his true colors as he stood in the van of the reformist camp. The first "charge" the ultra-conservatives levelled against him was the active role he played in assisting Wang An-shih to formulate a law regarding exemption from labor and military service. The new exemption law required landlords who formerly were exempt from such services to pay a fee. Ssuma Kuang was the first to leap out and attack the new law in his notorious "Reply to Wang Chieh-fu." "Every normal person knows that it will not work," he wrote. Wen Yen-po, a sworn confederate of Ssuma Kuang's, went even so far as to muster over a thousand people and parade them to the capital to protest the new act. Amid the uproar, Shen K'uo was asked: "The new exemption law has already been promulgated for some time now. How is it that cursing from among the people has not yet ceased?" Shen K'uo replied without reservations, "What's strange about that? Those cursing the new law are but officials and rich merchants who have been used to such privileges of exemption from labor and military service. How can you expect them to remain happy when they now have to observe the same rules as the common folk?" Like Wang An-shih, Shen K'uo regarded the vilification as nothing surprising. Another "crime" the ultra-conservatives sought to brand on Shen K'uo was his mission to the Liao court of the Kitans where he conducted a headon struggle with the invaders. In 1074, Liao was under the rule of the Kitan aristocrats who sent the Sung Emperor Shen-tsung a note demanding that their territorial claims be satisfied. The Liao emissary refused to listen to reason and resorted to coercion and blackmail by insisting on staying in the Pien capital /Kaifeng/. Under the circumstances, the Emperor Sung Shen-tsung's decision to send Shen K'uo on a negotiating mission to Liao posed many problems. Ssuma Kuang and his gang had from the very start been struck dumb by the news of the Kitan intrigue, and filled the Emperor's ears with slander. "The Kitan invasion is all the result of the reform. Do away immediately with all those new laws that have aroused the suspicion of the Kitans and they will not come again." The only thing the Confucianists could do about aggression was to kneel down and surrender. They dared neither to fight nor to negotiate. When the decision to send Shen K'uo was announced, he was asked: "Are you afraid?" Shen K'uo laughed. "If there is anything I should be afraid of, it is the fear that I might find myself lacking in capability. As to personal safety, it has long become the last thing that has ever entered my mind. I am prepared to give up my life to accomplish the mission." After receiving Shen K'uo and discussing with him some of the matters involved in the forthcoming negotiations, the Emperor Sung Shen-tsung asked: "The enemy has a bag of tricks and is extremely dangerous. What would you do if they go back on their word and threaten your life?" Shen K'uo was firm as ever as he told the Emperor, "Your humble minister is prepared to give his life to his country, and he would prefer to have himself

crushed to pieces than see the mission fail." Soon afterward, the elder brother of Shen K'uo sent the Emperor Shen K'uo's testament which he had prepared in advance and which not only presented his master plan for engaging the enemy but also once again expressed his readiness to resolutely give his life to his country. In between those words sparked the brilliance of Legalist patriotism. In Kitan where the enemy, armed to the teeth, lay in waiting, Shen K'uo exchanged verbal barrages with his hosts at the banquet table. He wittily took the Liao documents to his own advantage by using their own evidence against their own arguments, thus throwing his opponents into an awkward predicament. During the negotiations, there were at times on the Kitan side as many as a thousand people, but Shen K'uo remained cool-headed and ready. He stood there like a huge mountain undaunted and immovable. In the end, he gained a remarkable success in his mission and forced the Kitans to drop their unreasonable territorial demands.

It was precisely because Shen K'uo always placed himself in the forefront of the struggle that he was able to maintain a keen grasp over the pulse of the reform movement and to comprehend the very needs of the struggle. Shen K'uo made sure that the scientific research projects he carried out fitted into the very needs of the ongoing political struggle. He distinguished himself from those bookish scholars who cooped themselves in their studies and alienated themselves from reality and practice. He devoted himself wholly to see to it that his explorations in science had the right political orientation.

When the situation arose that demanded his knowledge of agriculture, he studied agriculture. In the early years before the reform, when Shen K'uo was still a county official in Shuyang and Ningkuo, he challenged himself with the ambition to change the face of the weak Sung Dynasty. He studied the techniques of land cultivation and conservancy to boost agricultural production and directed the dam construction project that reclaimed large tracts of fertile soil. Such projects stood in the way of the immediate interests of the ultra-conservatives who were looking forward to making more land annexations. They spread rumors to lead the people astray and threatened: "There are flood dragons in the water, the dikes will collapse." In order to repudiate their slander, Shen K'uo conducted a detailed investigation by combining theories in hydraulics and water conservancy with his own practical experience. He wrote his "Five Theories on Land Cultivation and Conservancy" explaining that deep caves were the reason why certain sections of the dikes caved in, that this could be prevented in the future, and that there was no cause for alarm. During the reform period, he directed the water conservancy construction projects on the Pien River. "The waters of the Yellow River pour down from Heaven and flow into the sea never to return." At that time, the Pien River was a tributary of the Yellow River that passed through the capital of the Northern Sung, Pienliang. It carried with it great quantities of silt which as time went by gradually raised the level of the river bed, much to the inconvenience of water transport in and out of the capital. Also, the rising water level threatened the people with the danger of the river overflowing its banks. The project to harness the Pien River was therefore of the utmost importance since it had a direct bearing on the development of transport and agriculture which in

turn would increase the country's financial income and improve the nation's material basis for countering aggression. The whole project went on for two years, and despite the fact that much progress had been made, it was not spared the slander of Ssuma Kuang and his gang. Some charged that silt had destroyed crops and houses, others that the new fields were as thin as pancakes. Even when the imperial court was deliberating what would be the best way to cope with the army rebellion at Ch'ingchou, someone was absurd enough to blame the mud fields around the Pien River for all the trouble, and Wang An-shih had to correct him on the spot. Su Shih wrote the Emperor Shen-tsung a lot of nonsense: "The water of the Pien is so dirty that ever since the dawn of man, it has never been used to water the paddy fields. With the present reforms, every attempt is being made to control the water, but what if the dams collapse? The flood would darken the Heaven, and nothing could be done about it even if we ate the flesh of those reformists." Shen K'uo paid no attention to the Confucianists and went on meticulously with his work. He surveyed and measured a total of 840 li on foot starting from Shangshan Gate in the capital to Huaik'ou at Ssuchou, the most important section of the Pien River. The sense of responsibility Shen K'uo had for reform was in every respect the greatest ever known by men of his times. He was aware that miscalculations would be hard to avoid if he relied only on such instruments as levels or telescopes. Therefore he daringly set about on innovation and worked out a new surveying method by which the dikes were built one layer after the other. It was incidentally the first of its kind in the history of the world's science and technology.

When the situation required his knowledge of military science, he would then study military science. In 1074, Shen K'uo was appointed concurrently to supervise the Arsenal, a new department set up to consolidate national defense. The development of arms production and the introduction of reforms in the military were decisive measures in Wang An-shih's reform program to strengthen the country. Up to then, Shen K'uo occupied himself primarily with civilian affairs and had very little to do with military matters. For the sake of strengthening national defense and carrying out reform, he was determined to overcome every difficulty in preparing himself for the new responsibility. Shen K'uo did all he could to study in earnest all the military literature handed down from history. He paid special attention to military technology, and it was not before long that he eventually familiarized himself very well with all fields of military strategy and technology including troop deployment, city defense, use of chariots and weaponry. He tried his best to formulate his own military theories and produced two writings that best reflected his reformist thinking in military science: "Border Area War Strategy and Troop Deployment" and "Outline of the Construction of Fortresses." In order to improve the quality of armor by making it pliable, light and durable, Shen K'uo personally visited smelting workshops to make a special study of the properties of wrought iron and steel. He made great contributions during the year he was at the Arsenal, and the production of superior weapons increased by scores of times, enough for several decades. Later, Shen K'uo was appointed Governor of Fuyen Border District with the headquarters at Yenchou, where he was put in charge of

protecting the country from the powerful armies of Hsihsia. There he organized young people and trained them in the martial arts highlighted by the holding of shooting and horse riding contests and prizes awarded to the winners. As a result, all the people of Yenchou knew how to handle the bow and arrow, and with patriotic sentiment high, the border defense was greatly strengthened. The following year, the enemy invaded in force as smoke signals dotted the horizon. Shen K'uo led the defense and rode out in person to counter the onslaught. The first battle left 70,000 enemy soldiers dead on the battlefield. In order to stimulate morale, Shen K'uo personally composed dozens of battle songs with lyrics taken from what the soldiers themselves had come to regard as popular verses.

"The might of Heaven rolls across the Yellow River,
For ten thousand li the barbarians sing the songs
of Han,
No power on earth can stem the tides turned westward
to bring good."

As songs of victory and the beatings of the drum echoed beyond the valley, both the external enemy and traitors at home trembled with fear. During the anti-invasion war, Shen K'uo also studied the special acoustic effects of arrow cases made of cowhide. "Lie on the ground and make it your pillow, you'll hear the sound of boots and hoofs several miles away. That which is hollow holds sound." He also developed the world's first multi-dimensional map which served the war effort and played an important role in the border negotiations with the Liaos.

With the defeat of Wang An-shih's reform, Shen K'uo was looked upon as a remnant of the reformist faction and dismissed. He was sent back to his home village to lead a civilian life. Shen K'uo, already nearing his sixties, came upon the scenic splendor of Mengch'i Park at Chenchiang which reminded him of his unaccomplished aspirations. With a stout heart, he pledged himself to keeping up the struggle with his pen. He put together all that he could write about what he had seen or heard and said, all his discoveries and innovations as well as all the practical experience he had gained in the part he played during the reform period, and produced in the end what has since become a very important comprehensive work in the history of science, "Dream Brook Random Notes" (Meng Ch'i Pi T'an 夢溪筆談). It summarizes the brilliant accomplishments made in the realm of natural science in ancient China, the Northern Sung period in particular, and includes such broad fields as mathematics, astronomy, physics, chemistry, biology, geology, geography, meteorology, medicine, military science and engineering technology.

In this book, Shen K'uo directed much of his attention to discovering and recording the outstanding contributions in science and technology made by the laboring people. Confucianism, beginning with the old sage himself, had always been blind to the great wisdom of the laboring masses and advocated the fallacy that "the highest are always

wise and the lowly always stupid." Shen K'uo opposed such absurdities and asked: "Could technical skills and instruments, dimensions and measurements, variability of shades and color, in fact everything, all be only the work of sages? Everybody, including people of all trades, ordinary officials, country and town folk alike, has his role to play." He collected the inventions and discoveries of many an ordinary worker. For instance, there is Yu Hao, the widely acclaimed master carpenter of his time who wrote "Mu Ching" ("Techniques of Woodwork") which, had it not been for Shen K'uo's "Random Notes" which carried some of its passages, would have like many other accomplishments of the working people in feudal times met the same fate of being strangled mercilessly by the conservative faction of the landlord class. Then there is the river engineer Kao Ch'ao who daringly devised the three-phase ground consolidation method and prevented the Yellow River from going off-course, thus averting a catastrophe. The name of this outstanding contributor to engineering sciences could never be found in the long list of celebrities in official annals, but Shen K'uo wrote a detailed account of his praiseworthy accomplishments. What deserves special attention is the invention of the movable type printing technique by the commoner Pi Sheng, an important contribution to world civilization; his valuable records were also unknown in official annals and could only be traced through "Random Notes," the only source containing a precise and detailed account.

In "Dream Brook Random Notes" could be found many of the outstanding contributions Shen K'uo himself made in the field of natural sciences. Among them, such discoveries in physics and mathematics as magnetic declination, the concave mirror, calculus (陳积术) and the drawing of the circle (会圓术), actually preceded the West by several hundred years. No wonder Professor Joseph Lee (李約瑟) of the University of Cambridge, a scholar on Shen K'uo, had good reason to regard the book as "a coordinate in the history of science." While Shen K'uo was touring east Chekiang, he came to Wenchou where he ascended the mountains of Yentang. Standing in the clouds on top of the Yentang peak, he made observations on the patterns of the mountain ranges and worked out the assumption that the mountain peaks were formed as a result of river movements. And that was 600 years before the Englishman Hutton presented his theory on the effects of water erosion on the formation of mountains. In the autumn of the same year, Shen K'uo toured the west of Hopei. As he scaled the lofty Taihang Mountains, he discovered the presence of sea shells and pebbles in between the ledges. "So this used to be a beach!" he exclaimed astoundingly. "Now that the sea is a thousand li away, the Hopei Plains must have been made up of the silt carried down by the Yellow River." This was 400 years earlier than when Da Vinci of Western Europe conducted studies on the movement of land and seas. It is only true that everything in the world is in a state of constant transformation. The abundance of scientific material Shen K'uo acquired from his findings about nature proved once and again the correctness of Wang An-shih's belief that "changes in nature are infinite in the same way changes in human relations see no end." At the same time,it once and again repudiated the idealist and metaphysical approach of Ssuma Kuang and his followers.

Viewing the scientific undertakings of Shen K'uo in the context of the struggle between the Confucianists and the Legalists during the Northern Sung period, it can be seen that the dozen or so contributions he was able to make should be accredited to his materialist approach and his acceptance of a political line that advocated reform and progress. "No matter what the attitude of natural scientists may be, they are still responsive to philosophy, and in this regard, the matter lies in their willingness to subject themselves to some mischievous fad, or to an ideology based on an overall knowledge of human history and cultural achievements." The political line of the Legalists and their materialist view of nature were the motive force behind the development of science and technology in ancient China, whereas the reactionary line and the idealistic views leading to "restoration of propriety" as advocated by the Confucianists obstructed all scientific progress. Shen K'uo's every step forward in his pursuit of scientific truth was realized only by breaking loose from the ideological shackles of Confucius and Mencius, and activating himself in the political struggle. This is a stimulus to our scientific workers today who are actively taking part in the three kinds of revolutionary practice and are repudiating the evils of Confucianism in every field of scientific activity. Because of limitations in class and historical conditions, Shen K'uo was only able to find truth in Wang An-shih's reform thinking and take it as a guide to his political and scientific activity, but the fact remains that the philosophy of the reformist faction of the landlord class was never able to completely shake off the fetters of historical idealism and metaphysics. Today we have as a guide the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought, and we have Chairman Mao's revolutionary line to lead the way. We should be confident in being able to make some progress in scientific creativeness, in making inventions and discoveries in all fields of natural sciences, so that incessant leaps forward may be made from the realm of necessity to that of liberty.

(The authors are young workers attached respectively to Chienshao Farm and Shanghai Construction Machinery Plant.)

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"Wind and Thunder Bring New Life to the Empire"

- Foreword to a reprint of Complete Works of Kung Tzu-chen

by

Ch'en Hsü-lu (陈旭麓)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 2, February 10, 1975)

I

Engels said Dante was "both the last poet of the Middle Ages and the first poet of modern times." (Communist Manifesto, Preface to the 1893 Italian edition) In a similar sense Kung Tzu-chen was likewise a prominent thinker, man of letters and poet at a turning point in Chinese history.

Kung Tzu-chen was born 1792 in Jenho, Chekiang (in what is now Hangchow) into a landlord family of scholar-officials. Having passed the imperial examinations as a graduate of the third degree, he was for many years a minor official in the Ch'ing government without any chances for promotion. He died in 1841, the year following the outbreak of the Opium War. His time was marked by the rapid decline of China's feudal society and the beginning of its transition toward a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society. Although he spent the greater part of his years before the advent of the modern period, his furious outpourings not only lamented the past but more importantly were directed at the future.

What Kung Tzu-chen had observed and absorbed in his lifelong dedication to literary pursuits was incorporated in more than 300 essays and nearly 800 poems. These came out in numerous different versions in the past. The Complete Works of Kung Tzu-chen (hereafter Complete Works), published in 1959 by the Chung Hua Book Company, is generally considered a careful and good compilation and editing. The Shanghai People's Publishing House has now reprinted this collection to meet the needs of studying the history of Confucian-Legalist struggle.

Complete Works, a comprehensive collection of related subjects arranged in chronological order and written in either prose or poetry, follows a basic trend -- the "tendency" which was discernible after the Opium War of "animatedly discussing matters concerning the empire." In essence, these "animated discussions" largely concerned vehement rejections of textual verifications and the flabby and flaccid style of writing of the Tung-cheng school that was often divorced from politics and preoccupied with rigid forms of poetry writing that had prevailed since the reigns of Chien-lung and Chia-ching. This tendency was aimed at diverting public attention to issues concerning the immediate problems of government and social contradictions.

Kung Tzu-chen's "trend-setting" writings may be roughly classified into three categories, namely: those dealing directly with political discussions and social contradictions -- including the most controversial section of the Complete Works; political commentaries presented from an academic point of view, such as essays touching on government and those embodying invaluable dialectical ideas in their crude stage; and inscriptions, biographies and chronicles recording interesting glimpses of history and legends, as well as satirical allegories and narratives which inspired ironical writings and miscellaneous essays in later periods.

II

Kung Tzu-chen's writings are distinguished by their exposition and critical approach, a mission assigned by his time and society. In Dream of the Red Chamber of the mid-18th century Ts'ao Hsüeh-ch'in found the "flourishing" feudal rule of the Ch'ing Dynasty on the verge of collapse. This feudal empire 70-80 years later was portrayed by Kung Tzu-chen as being totally on the "decline," a degeneration that was symbolically conveyed in these well-chosen words -- "withering away like a plant on the verge of becoming deadwood."

A decayed feudal empire on the decline prompted Kung Tzu-chen to become a critic, engrossed as he then was in countering the Confucian philosophy that had held sway over the reactionary ruling classes. He disclaimed Confucian supremacy, declaring that Confucianism was not a praiseworthy school of thought during the Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods. He doubted those leading Confucianists in all their pretensions could have contributed anything worthwhile. He brushed aside Confucian attempts to reverse history and asserted that without the laboring people the ruling structure of the upper strata could not have been engendered. Whether or not Kung Tzu-chen himself had perceived this it was no doubt a forceful rebuff to the reactionary political and social preachings of the Confucianists.

The Confucianists' reversal of history resulted in countless spiritual ropes which, in the hands of succeeding generations of reactionary rulers, became fetters that had kept people in bondage. What Kung Tzu-chen had referred to as "rules" meant precisely those traditional concepts and old conventions handed down from succeeding generations without any change. These countless oppressive "rules" served as a long rope that bound a person's limbs tightly and caused him to resign himself to this bondage. In Kung Tzu-chen's words, the society of his time was so hopeless that nothing but "snoring" was audible.

However, the ascent of the Confucianists in later generations made them even more brazen than before, Kung Tzu-chen observed. They brazenly indulged in self-deception and in deceiving others, obsessed as they had been in painting a rosy picture of an empire which was on the decline. The murky atmosphere that had prevailed with its innumerable

falsehoods so infuriated Kung Tzu-chen that he came forward to castigate feudal conventions and expose the hypocritical and vicious features of the reactionary feudal rulers and Confucianists, revealing them as a special group of hangmen who excelled in killing people without having to draw their blood. "All dark forces that are harmful to the masses of the people must be exposed." (Chairman Mao: "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art") Whether or not Kung Tzu-chen himself was aware of this, his exposure and castigation of the decadent feudal forces conformed with the objective demand and served as an essential weapon of his time for carrying out political and ideological struggles.

Kung Tzu-chen took the firm stand of opposing the reactionary rulers and challenging the Confucianists because he had faced the facts. His outspokenly critical attitude made him espouse the Legalist line. But the path he had taken was no plain sailing. The Confucian-Legalist struggle had long been a struggle between two different political forces and the two lines, a struggle which had occasionally manifested itself in strivings among people. It was exactly from such fierce strivings that Kung Tzu-chen emerged. One of his poems illustrates how he refused to comply with an unreasonable request from above which prohibited him from publicly discussing political affairs. He also declined to accept his friend's advice that he should delete and destroy the critical portions of his work for fear that he might be persecuted.

On the controversial question of annotating and expounding Confucian classics such as the Book of Change, Book of History, Book of Odes and the Spring and Autumn Annals at the suggestion of his friends like Ch'en Huan and Chiang Fan, classicists and recognized as "worthies," Kung Tzu-chen had repeatedly refused to do so. This shows his determination not to become a "bookworm" or "leading Confucianist" that would have been at the mercy of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. Instead, he became engrossed in the study of contemporary history of his time and this distinguished him from those who clung to the classicist tradition and stressed the past rather than the present.

In his struggle against the classicists Kung Tzu-chen had apparently steered clear of Confucian precepts. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao certainly missed the point in asserting that Kung Tzu-chen's political philosophy was derived from the Kung-yang Commentary. Although he studied Kung-yang Commentary from Liu Feng-lu at the age of 28, at least two of his critically outspoken essays were written before he turned 28. This shows that Kung-yang Commentary had not influenced his thinking in the least. His later essays on political subjects likewise embodied elements of continuity and development compared with the views he expounded at a preceding stage. There is no truth to the argument that his philosophy was derived from Kung-yang Commentary. Since Kung Tzu-chen's scholarship encompassed many branches of learning, such as the philosophical writings of different periods, Confucian classics, history, geography, inscription tablets and ancient musical instruments, Buddhism and poetry, the Confucian classics did not amount to much in his field of

study. Even if he cited certain passages from the classics he did so in the context of both the modern and ancient texts. Therefore, he was neither an adherent of the Kung-yang school accustomed to "expounding profound principle in subtle language" nor a classicist. By arbitrarily equating Kung Tzu-chen with the Kung-yang school of philosophy, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao was in fact confusing the relationship between the "source" and "flow" of Chinese philosophy. This attempt to substitute the "source" of the history of Chinese philosophy for the "source" mainly derived from social practice and struggle stemmed from the reactionary Confucian conception of history. This amounts to obliterating the substance of the Confucian-Legalist struggle in order to boost the cause of the revere-Confucius line espoused by Tung Chung-shu and the Kung-yang school. Academic circles have been fooled by him over the past decades.

"Any genuine philosophy constitutes the intellectual essence of the philosophers of their own era." (Marx: Editorial of Cologne Daily, No. 179) The reason why Kung Tzu-chen's militant philosophy drew attention is that he was spurred by his time into actions such as revealing political and social contradictions. In advocating a break with the status quo and discarding the old and seeking the new, he was hardly influenced by the Kung-yang school. The assertion that Kung Tzu-chen inherited the Legalist line is based on the argument that the Legalists who had advocated reform in accordance with the changing circumstances provided Kung Tzu-chen with an ideological weapon in lieu of a new material force which was beyond his reach. One line from his work indicates that in his early years he despised the Confucianists for their laudatory references to the "early kings" and favored the "later kings" such as Ch'in Shih Huang and Emperor Wu of Han, both known for their contributions to the unification and consolidation of the Chinese empire. This shows that Kung Tzu-chen took the road of opposing Confucianism and revering Legalism in accordance with the demands of his time and that his philosophy was characteristic of the era in which he lived.

III

Knowing the world helps us transform it and revealing contradictions is aimed at resolving them. The Legalist line basically involves the introduction to a certain extent of such political and social reforms that are keyed to the changes and development of objective things and events, thus propelling history forward. This is nowhere more strongly expressed than in Kung Tzu-chen's philosophy. He was in complete accord with the views enunciated by Liu Tsung-yuan in On Feudalism, clearly indicating his repudiation of the old institutions in history and his approval of new systems. In fact, he favored what he observed as the "natural trend" or objective laws governing the substitution of old institutions by new institutions.

It follows that in his time Kung Tzu-ehcn took the stand of calling for "change to the prevailing practices" in the context of past and present periods and in view of the "changing circumstances." This

is an affirmation of his stand for reform. For instance, he warned the Ch'ing rulers of the danger of "abusing the authority handed down from one's ancestors" and recommended steps for reform before the power of public opinion prevailed over those who still clung to "authority" invested in the rulers. He was in fact placing his last hopes on the inefficient and decadent feudal rulers of the Ch'ing Dynasty.

Since measures for reform must be progressive, Kung Tzu-chen advocated following the Legalist line to clear the way for the introduction of reforms. This, in Kung Tzu-chen's view, was aimed at dispelling misgivings about and resistance to reform. That is why he spoke approvingly of the "decree on land reclamation" instituted by Shang Yang. In answering a question put to him at the imperial examination, he imitated Wang An-shih's Memorial to Emperor Jen-tsung by approaching the subject of bringing succor to the empire through recourse to "ancient prescriptions." Engels once referred to the dark rule of the Middle Ages as a source for repudiation during the Renaissance in Europe and said: "This new era began with the return to the Greeks." (Dialectics of Nature, Digest of Science and History) This shows that "making the past serve the present" is an objective law inherent in history itself. Since Kung Tzu-chen could not conceivably have understood this objective law, invoking the "ancient prescriptions" found expression in him in what might be termed inertness under a given historical condition or indisposition to motion or change.

Kung Tzu-chen advocated change not solely for the purpose of expressing his disapproval of the utter decadence of the superstructure of the reactionary feudal rule which regarded Confucianism as its moral support. He also uncovered the basic contradictions that had existed in that society. His Chapter on Equalization looks critically at those basic contradictions which manifested themselves to a serious extent in the concentration of land in the hands of a few big landowners, with this "disequilibrium by a wide margin" bordering on the "loss of the empire." He came to the conclusion that nothing was more important than "equalizing" in the ordering of the state. But what he proposed to do was not carried out as speedily as it should. In another chapter attributed to him, he approached the question of adjusting land distribution through the patriarchal form of society as one way of combating the contradiction of "disequilibrium." This approach was of course way behind the slogan of "levelling up the rich and the poor" that was issued during the peasant uprisings. In situations where it would not have been possible for the peasantry to really solve the land question, his idea of "equalization" undeniably was not altogether devoid of the peasants' cherished aspirations for land, even if such aspirations were localized.

Kung Tzu-chen's outspoken sympathy for the "black-headed people" and his advocacy of the Legalist line and enthusiasm for reform distinguished his attitude toward the peasantry from that toward the reactionary feudal rulers. His apparent opposition to the dark forces brought him

closer to the toiling people. He spoke metaphorically of the Ch'ing imperial court and symbolically of the "countrymen," and significantly placed the former in opposition to the latter. In this allegorical scheme of pitting the ruling dynasty against its subjects, he did not lose sight of the feasibility that the relationshi between the superior and the subordinate could be mutually transforming. In coupling the "ruling house" with the multitude of "countrymen" in terms of the waxing of the one and the waning of the other, until the "ruling house" estranged and denied popular support paved the way for risings among the "countrymen." This was certainly not something that existed in Kung Tzu-chen's imagination but visions that came into a sharp focus over the years after he had traveled north and south of the Ch'ing empire during the reigns of Chia-ching and Tao-kuang, when religious sects of different denominations had steadily grown in number and strength to carry out massive uprisings. This vision had encompassed both history and reality as lessons and became magnified in his mind.

What Kung Tzu-chen referred to as the "people who took to the mountains" had different interpretations in the past. They comprised those anti-Ch'ing intellectuals of the landlord class who were no longer in office as well as the organized sections of the peasantry. The existence of this anti-Ch'ing force was only deviously and ambiguously mentioned in Kung Tzu-chen's work. It was the "resounding response" of the rank and file to the "stirring call" raised by these former scholar-officials, as Kung Tzu-chen interpreted it, that in effect produced the "mighty sound" to bring "new life" or reform to an otherwise stale and petrified situation as the crushing force of "wind and thunder" would awaken a dormant land.

Looking back at the reform movements in Chinese history, quite a few of them were set in motion by foreign incursions and the pressures exerted by a powerful enemy. This was particularly true with modern China. Kung Tzu-chen's reformist ideas were rooted in the land on which he lived. Although he grew up in the region south of the Yangtze River, he never lost sight of the motherland's frontiers. His writings on the geography of Northwest China became the basis of his political commentaries, one of which dealing with the frontier resettlement measures advocated by succeeding generations of Legalists. He closely linked his ideas on social reform with the frontier resettlement and border defense measures, laying particular emphasis on the selection of settlers with "strong disposition" in order to cope with the rigors of the northwestern environment and to secure border defenses. Although the conclusion of Nipuchu and Kiakhta Treaties appeared to have temporarily curbed tsarist Russia's ambitions to invade China, the decline of the Ch'ing imperial court induced tsarist Russia to cast covetous glances at China's northeast and northwest frontiers. Therefore, the study of the geography of Northwest China was in a strategic sense more important at the time than frontier resettlement consideration.

The new situation that had prevailed along the southeastern coast more than anything else alerted Kung Tzu-chen to the approaching storm and the stirrings caused by foreign pressures that began to be

brought to bear on China. Prior to the Opium War, he had already noticed that the steady flow of the opium traffic was bringing woe to China, warning that Western capitalist robbers with "sharp facial features" were covetously eyeing Macau and Kwangtung. He gave full support to Lin Tse-hsu, an old friend, who was proceeding to Kwangtung to ban opium-smoking and trafficking. He denounced those who tried to obstruct the enforcement of the opium ban as appeasing to foreign encroachment and giving up resistance. He recommended severe punishment of those who sought to break the ruling. Chairman Mao has said, "We are no Duke Hsiang of the Sung. We don't want benevolence, righteousness, morality and virtue befitting stupid pigs." (On Protracted War) In the case of Kung Tzu-chen, he used the forthright Legalist point of view to deliver a forceful rebuff to the Confucian benevolence and virtue that was meant only for stupid pigs. When Lin Tse-hsu was in Canton battling against infringement of the opium ban, Kung Tzu-chen penned a poem dedicated to the "general" who was entrusted with the heavy responsibility of carrying out the formidable opium banning task to completion in the face of seemingly insurmountable obstacles.

In his time Kung Tzu-chen was very much engrossed in the advent of the modern phase of Chinese history, a period marked by the development of events seething with change. This has proved that his reformist ideas and patriotic aspirations were strongly influenced by the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal stirrings of the era preceding the modern phase of Chinese history.

IV

In espousing a reform-oriented political line discussed in the foregoing paragraphs, Kung Tzu-chen can be identified as a brave fighter when the domination of feudalism and reaction was on the decline. What he put down in writing as a man of letters and poet was the product of this political line, works condmning the era and society in which he lived. His response and reactions in an allegorical sense to "external circumstances" dominated by monsters and freaks were duly recorded in his writings, which aptly depict a period under the sway of the forces of darkness and under the spell of freakish behavior and practices.

His poems which predominate in his published works are distinguished by their unique style of writing, combining as they often do romanticism with critical realism. Like his essays, they incisively bring out social contradictions with a strong touch of realism yet are filled with romantic feelings. His poems are also distinguished by their diverse forms. One collection he published in 1839 records his impressions and reminiscences during his journeys across the land, serving as a detailed and outspoken chronicle of his life and times, his philosophy and feelings, his preoccupation with reflecting the social contradictions of his time.

To the casual reader, Kung Tzu-chen's writings in prose or verse are incomprehensible. This is because most passages from his work are so obscure in meaning that few less erudite people can understand them. This was the approach he had to adopt at a time when

political repression was imposed by the reactionary rulers and Confucian orthodoxy had prevailed. In his correspondence to his friends he had to use metaphorical allusions to express or hide his sentiments, indicating that a landlord class reformist like him in no way could break with the tenacious hold of the reactionary forces. It was he who was invoking "wind and thunder," but the "wind and thunder" was not himself.

Kung Tzu-chen's militant philosophy was inspired by the era and society in which he lived, its limitations being inevitably imposed by the era and the class to which he belonged. In his productive years, China's feudal society was astir with early signs of capitalism while non-Chinese capitalist ideas were spreading across the land. There was an unmistakable tendency toward "taking foreign things as fashionable." Since the capitalist element sooner or later was to be injected into the ideological sphere, it had to be reflected first of all in the leaders of the landlord class intellectuals not associated with officialdom. Manifestations of this element were not lacking in Kung Tzu-chen's philosophy. He denounced the economic exploiters as parasites in an attempt to encourage people to produce more. His measure for land distribution, expounded in his essay on agriculture, favors a system of land allocation based on the availability of production capacity and labor power. In another essay on privateness, he aspires to amassing private wealth closely resembling the capitalist form of operation. Being after all a landlord class reformist, Kung Tzu-chen aimed his barbs mainly at circumstances resembling living hell and at the reactionary feudal rule. New elements had not begun to appear within him because of the absence at the time of newly engendered material forces that must appear in sufficient quantity to transform him. While his poems demonstrate his confidence in the state of things he was aspiring to, a closer look at his intentions only conjures up to something elusive and speculative, things that are wrapped up in doubts.

Both historical and class limitations compelled Kung Tzu-chen to take only small steps. Opposed as he was to Confucianism, he dared not offend Confucius, venerable master of the Confucianists. He had despaired over the decadent Ch'ing imperial court, yet he suppressed his aversion in obscure metaphors. He longed for political reforms yet counseled against taking hasty steps for fear of ruining the whole scheme for introducing institutional change, hopes that he continued to place on the Ch'ing imperial court. Like Ts'ao Hsüeh-ch'in who admitted his incompetence for the job of "mending Heaven," Kung Tzu-chen had to give up trying. What he wrote about before giving up office pathetically revealed his forlorn hope and feeling of helplessness.

An inaccurate reference to Kung Tzu-chen's "obsession with books of the West" by Wei Yuan in his work led to misinterpretations in succeeding generations of the word "West," which means the Buddha-realm in the West and not the capitalist world of the West. Misinterpreting a single word has had far-reaching implications in that evaluations of the development of modern Chinese philosophy and of Kung Tzu-chen's thought have been affected. When he was over 30, Kung Tzu-chen had access to Buddhist scriptures. For instance, he was lost for words

when he came to the 315th stanza of a lengthy narrative poem, and had to lift himself from the mental void he had sunk into for a search of consolation in the next world pictured in the Buddhist scripture Fa Hua Ching (法华经).

However, the phrase "Wind and thunder brings new life to the empire" after all is identifiable with Kung Tzu-chen's militant response, which expresses his aversion to old things and his vision of the future. Lu Hsün said, "Once uproarious literature has appeared, resistance is approaching; therefore, literature published during the period close to revolutionary upheavals often rings with angry voices." (Literature of the Revolutionary Period) Ten years after the death of Kung Tzu-chen the "wind and thunder" of the T'ai-p'ing T'ien-kuo revolution rocked China, striking heavy blows at the forces of feudalism and imperialism and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius they had followed. Kung Tzu-chen's philosophy likewise influenced in no small measure the bourgeois reform movement in a later period. "During the reign of Kuang-hsu most so-called new scholars went through the period of venerating Kung." These represent a significant contribution of Kung Tzu-chen's anti-Confucian and revere-Legalist philosophy to China's modern history.

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Several Opinions About "On the Battle of Feishui"

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 2, February 10, 1975)

Comrade Editor:

In its 1974 No. 12 issue, Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an carried an article entitled "On the Battle of Feishui."* This is a good article, with clearcut presentation and elaborate analysis, and its language is also quite vivid and lively. However, the article contains certain errors pertaining to historical material, some of which were due to sheer negligence and could be completely avoided if the historical material were examined with a prudent attitude. I will now bring out these errors for your and the author's reference.

1. The article says: "In the fifth year of Taiyuan, Fu Lo led an army of 70,000 men to stage a revolt and attacked the capital Changan." This is at variance with historical facts. Fu Lo did not "attack the capital Changan." He failed when he reached Chungshan (now Ting hsien), which was still very far away from Changan. Fu Lo's elder brother, Fu Chung, also took part in the revolt. It seems that he should have been mentioned.

2. The "series of revolts" staged by Fu Shuang, Fu Liu and others took place in the second year of Taiho (367), while the revolt of Fu Lo and Fu Chung occurred in the fifth year of Taiyuan (380). The article obviously makes a mistake in timing when it says that the revolts of Fu Shuang and others took place after the revolt of the Fu brothers.

3. Prefectures and counties of Ch'iaochow set up by the Eastern [illegible] were mostly along communications lines, such as Kuangling (Yangchow) and Chingk'ou (Chenchiang). In these areas the influence of the southern official clans was not weak. The article says that the prefectures and counties of Ch'iaochow were located in "areas with relatively weak influence of the southern official clans." This does not agree with historical facts.

4. The article is apparently wrong when it says that "the Huan family belonged to the southern clans." The Huan family belonged to northern clans, and was not a southern family. The hometown of the Huans was Lungyuan in the state of Chiao (now Mengch'eng hsien north of the Huai River in Anhwei). The Huans should be regarded as northerners, not southerners.

5. The article says that Hsieh An and "Great General Huan Ch'ung had worked together for many years." This is not consistent

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* See SPRCM No. 806, January 20, 1975.

with historical facts. Huan Ch'ung reached only the rank of general in charge of cavalry, and not the rank of "Great General."

T'an Ming

December 27, 1974

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Comrade T'an Ming:

In accordance with the opinions you raised about the article "On the Battle of Feishui," we have checked the historical data, and found that certain historical facts were misrepresented. The author of that article is a new fighter on the theoretical front, and the responsibility should be assumed by the editorial department. The main cause of these discrepancies is our carelessness in looking over the manuscript and our weak sense of responsibility. Your opinions have been passed on to the author so that he may use them for reference when he further revises the article. It is hoped that you will continue to give this journal your opinions and criticism in the future.

Editor

* * *

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/Hua-hsüeh T'ung-pao, Chemistry Bulletin/

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CONTENTS

Keep Learning from Taching and Blaze New Trails by Self-Reliance -- Lanchow Chemical Industry Company (1)

Science Serves Agriculture -- Shanghai Institute of Entomology (4)

The Struggle between the Confucian and Legalist Schools in the Eastern Chou, Ch'in and Han Dynasties (700 B.C.-220 A.D.) as seen from the Development of Iron and Steel Technology -- Marxist Theoretical Studies Group, Peking Institute of Iron and Steel Technology (7)

Analysis of Some Problems of Electrolysis and Electroplating in the Light of Dialectics -- Chen Chuan-de and Meng Kang (13)

Determination of Micro Amounts of Rare Earths in Nickel and Ferro and Alloys - Central Laboratory, Da-Ye Steel Works and Group of Graduation Practice, Speciality of Analytical Chemistry, Wuhan University (15)

Progress in the Use of Chemical Pesticides in China's Agriculture -- Chang Tse-pu (20)

Studies on Pelleted Ammonium Dicarbonate and Slow Release Ammonium Dicarbonate as Fertilizers -- The Slow Release Fertilizer Research Group, Nanking Institute of Soil Science, Academia Sinica (21)

A Brief Review of Water and Wastewater Chemistry -- Tang Hong-xiao (26)

Insect Hormones and Insect Pheromones in Insect Control -- Chou Wei-shan (31)

Notes on the Particle Shape of Polyvinylchloride, Prepared by the Modified Method of Gelatin Dispersed Suspension Polymerization -- Polyvinylchloride Group of the Electrochemical Factory, Hangchow (45)

A Single-Point Method Determining Intrinsic Viscosity -- Yang Tsin-yuan, Den Hsien-mor (46)

Alchemy and Chemistry in China (A Summary of a Symposium) (51)

Improvement of Ultraviolet Lamp -- Dong Shan-nian (55)

Some Inexpensive Ways of Conducting Chemical Experiments -- Ho Jui-wu (56)

The Oil Film in the Externally Illuminated Large Screen Television Projectors -- Chao Yung-chen (58)

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